।। षष्ट्यब्दसंस्कृतम् ।।

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Sixty Years of Sanskrit Studies

(1950–2010)

Vol. 2: Countries other than India

Edited by

Radhavallabh Tripathi

Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan

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Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction 1

1. Sanskrit Studies in Argentina 11
— Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti

2. Sanskrit Studies in Austria, Germany and Switzerland 35
— *L. Soni* and *J. Soni*

3. Sanskrit Studies in Britain 55
— John Brockington

4. Sanskrit Studies in China 75
— Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri

5. Sanskrit Studies in France 105
— Nalini Balbir & Nicolas Dejenne

6. Sanskrit Studies in Japan 181
— Shashibala

7. Sanskrit Studies in Nepal 203
— Radhavallabh Tripathi

8. Sanskrit Studies in Poland 213
— Anna Trynkowska

9. Sanskrit Studies in Russia 237
— Sergei D. Serebriany

10. Sanskrit Studies in Thailand 253
— Amarjiva Lochan

11. Sanskrit Studies in the United States 259
— Sheldon Pollock

Contributors 311

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Radhavallabh Tripathi

Introduction

Radhavallabh Tripathi

> "*If I were asked what I consider the most important discovery which has been made during the 19th century with respect to the ancient history of mankind, I should say that it was the simple etymological equation: Sanskrit Dyauṣ-pitṛ= Greek Zeus Pater = Latin Jupiter*".

Max Müller had made this pronouncement in his Gifford lectures on Anthropological Religion delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1891.[1] Dandekar calls this an utterance that 'may be said to embody the leit-motif of principle writings of that outstanding scholar.[2]' His ulterior motives related to the propagation of Christianity apart, Max Müller at that time was confident that Sanskrit is capable of transforming the world and make a radical change. To an extent this was proved by the role Sanskrit played at the global level during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Earlier, William Jones had published the first printed edition of *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* with its English translation in 1786 — an even that created an epoch. Soon after its publication, William Forster, a German Scholar, translated Śākuntalam into German and published this translation in 1791. Forster was not a Sanskritist, and he rendered Kālidāsa's play from its English translation. This rendering reached Goethe, one of the greatest literary figures of the eighteenth century. We all know how Goethe was enamoured by reading Kālidāsa and to what extent he was under the spell of Kālidāsa when he was writing his own *magnum opus — The Faust*. We are also aware of his beautiful poem in praise of Śākuntala. Through Goethe Kālidāsa cast an impact on the generations of German

1 Dandekar, R.N. : Max Müller — *Comparative Religion and Mythology* pub. in F. Max Müller — What He can Teach Us? Ed. by Heimo Rau, Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 1974, p.21

2 Ibid. p. 21

and English romantic poets. Moreover, the publication of Kālidāsa's work by William Jones, changed the image of India in the world, and also led to the change in the cultural and literary scenario at the global level

Forster, who rendered Śākuntala into German from its English translation was a political activist. In his introduction to the German translation, he expressed the hope that his country which is passing through a difficult period of history will soon need great classics like this to recover from the wounds that history has given. Forster had also hoped that the publication of Kālidāsa's work in German translation will open vistas for a global understanding — 'the most delicate feelings which the human heart can sense, can be just finely expressed on the Ganges by the dark brown people, as on the Rhine.'[3]

With the onslaught of orientalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, the knowledge of Sanskrit in the western world led to the emergence of new schools and disciplines for study like comparative mythology, comparative religion and comparative linguistics. It was through the discipline of comparative linguistics that interrelationship between ancient languages of world's biggest group of linguistic family — the Indo-Aryan — came to be investigated upon. The school of German romanticism nurtured by stalwarts like Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) who also published the second edition of Śākuntalam's translation by Forster in 1803, and nourished by Max Müller himself, very soon paved the way for serious researches based on philological grounds.

It is evidenced by the articles collected in this volume that the studies of Sanskrit in various parts of the world have covered a vast range of texts and topics pertaining to the Vedic lore, Buddhism, Jainism, Indian philosophy, art, archaeology, epics and classics, literature and literary criticism; and have also embraced Iranian studies and South East Asian studies.

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3 Q. By Walter Ruben (1984): *Kālidāsa : The Human Meaning of his Works,* PPH, New Delhi, p. 6.

They have helped in creating a better understanding of our culture and civilisation. The aspects of history, culture and philosophy are being brought within the purview of Sanskrit studies, which were pursued earlier largely on the grounds of linguistics.

— 2 —

The World Sanskrit Conferences (WSCs) organised under the authority of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS) have not only been providing a viable platform to Sanskrit scholars all around the world for a meaningful exchange of ideas and to be acquainted with the research works of each other, but have also given multiple opportunities to take stock of the progress of Sanskrit studies and their prospects. Some of the volumes of the News Bulletin of the IASS, published on the occasion of the WSCs, were devoted to Sanskrit studies in various countries. The News Bulletin released on the occasion of the third WSC (Paris, 1977) contained a list of institutions in various countries with reference to Sanskrit studies there. Wolfgang Morgenroth improved upon this model by the way of editing and publishing the number two of the News Bulletin on the occasion of the Weimer WSC (1979). The two parts of the News Bulletin number two, provide valuable sources of information on Sanskrit studies in as many as 26 countries of the world. In addition to this special number of the News Bulletin of the IASS, *Sanskrit Studies in GDR* in two parts was also brought out on the occasion of the IV WSC. The first part was devoted to history of Sanskrit studies in GDR, and the second part comprised a bibliography of 765 publications from GDR related to Sanskrit studies.

The organisers of the past conferences have also been bringing out volumes devoted to evaluation and assessment of Sanskrit studies during the recent decades. After the first WSC, V. Raghavan[4] edited and published the collection of the papers

4 V. Raghavan (Delhi, 1979): *Sanskrit and Indology in Centres outside India,* volume I – Part II.

related to Sanskrit studies in centres outside India (Delhi, 1979), in one of the volumes of the proceedings of the first WSC. Separate volumes were published on the occasions of WSCs held at Varanasi (1981) and Bangalore (1997). To the best of my knowledge and memory, the practice of publishing such useful volumes was not followed in VII, VIII, XIII and XIV WSCs held at Leiden (1987), Vienna (1990), Edinburgh (2006) and Kyoto (2009).

The motive of undertaking the publication of such volumes had also to be defined and re-defined. Prof. Dr S.C. Diethelm Weidemann wrote in his preface to the first part of *Sanskrit Studies in GDR*, published on the occasion of the IV WSC held from May 23rd to May 30th in 1979 envisaged the volume compiled by him as a 'complete thorough summary survey of the origins, the development, the accomplishment and the present level of the Sanskrit studies and related spheres of Indology at the universities of the G.D.R.' which hopefully 'helps to realise that the preservation of humanistic traditions and the scientific heritage cannot be effected in museal[5] contemplation but needs the active continuation by our generation.'[6]

Apart from the WSCs sponsored by the IASS, a World Sanskrit Conference was organised by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vdyapeetha under the auspices of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, from 5th to 9th April 2001. On the occasion of this conference, Prof. Vachaspati Upadhyaya edited and published two volumes comprising write-ups on Sanskrit studies in India and abroad. The volume *Sanskrit Studies Abroad* (New Delhi, 2001) covers eleven countries — Canada, Croatia, France, FRG, Hungary, Indonesia, Mexico, Nepal, Poland, Thailand and Italy. The volume published by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, on the occasion of the tenth WSC (Bangalore, 1997) comprises write-ups on eight

5 Meaning perhaps museum-type.

6 Preface to *Sanskrit Studies in G.D.R.*, Berlin, 1978: Humboldt University, Institute of Asian Studies, part I (Reports).

countries, out of which Canada (Ashok Aklujkar), France (Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat), Indonesia (Rajendra Mishra), Italy (Oscar Botto) and Thailand (Satyavrat Shastri) had been covered by the same authors in the volume edited by Vachaspati Upadhyaya in 2001.

Most of the articles published in the volumes devoted to Sanskrit studies in countries outside India as referred above present accounts of the presence of Sanskrit in the respective countries right from a hoary past. This is exemplified by the very title of the article by Albrecht Wezler and Shashiprabha Kumar on FDR in V. Upadhyaya's compendium (2001), which is — *Sanskrit Studies in Federal Republic of Germany at the Transition from the 2nd to the 3rd Millennium.*

Apart from the volumes that were occasioned by the WSCs, some more serious attempts at understanding the trends and achievements of Sanskrit studies or Indology were made by Dandekar[7] and Jha[8] by way of editing invited articles and organising a seminar and editing its proceedings.

These exercises however, remained confined to providing impressionistic pictures and bibliographical sketches with regard to Sanskrit studies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We therefore thought it proper to make a modest attempt to present details and analysis of the latest developments in Sanskrit studies in various countries especially between 1950 and 2010, and present issues related to Sanskrit studies in their larger global perspectives in this volume, being issued on the occasion of the 15th WSC.

It is a matter of satisfaction that countries like Argentina , China, Poland and Switzerland which were not included in earlier volumes as referred above, have a focus here. As for Japan, the recent trends of Sanskrit studies there were surveyed by Yasuke Ikari in the article published in the News Bulletin of the IASS number IX. We have therefore taken up the

7 Dandekar R.N (1942). : *Progress of Indic Studies*, BORI, Poona.

8 Jha V.N. (1989) : *New Horizons of Research in Indology*, CASS, University of Poona.

paper of Shashibala here dealing with wider issues of Sanskrit culture in Japan. The problems and perspectives of Sanskrit studies in Nepal are quite different from other countries and no in-depth study in them is available. Madhav Raj Gautam's article Status of Sanskrit Education in Nepal in the vol. edited by Vachaspati Upadhyaya, describes the status of Sanskrit education in the universities and colleges in Nepal, and Neelmani Dhunganma's article Problems of Sanskrit teaching in Nepal published in the Newsletter of the IASS number IX, 2009, only specifies the problems being faced by teachers of Sanskrit in Nepal. The write-up on Nepal included in this volume is an attempt to substantiate the information made available earlier with a focus on recent developments in that country. Some of the data for this was collected by the present author during his recent visit to Nepal for delivering the convocation address of Nepal Sanskrit University.

— 3 —

The studies presented in the present volume underline the fact that it is no longer possible to view Sanskrit as an autonomous discipline providing authenticity to various other branches of learning, it has to be considered as a part of the larger framework of the global studies too. In some countries like USA, the departments related to the study of Religions have incorporated Sanskrit, whereas in many universities at UK, USA and other parts of the world Sanskrit figures as one of the subjects under the departments of Asian-African Studies, South-East and South Asian Studies of classical languages.

The studies presented in the present volume also point out the emergence of new schools and centres for studies of Sanskrit in various countries. Nalini Balbir finds the Kyoto school of Sanskrit studies 'to some extent, to have been born from the close cooperation between Louis Renou and Yutaka Ojihara.'

— 4 —

The alarming situation owing to the erosion or marginalisation of Sanskrit all around the world as emerging from many of the articles here needs to be attended seriously. Sanskrit departments in the universities or institutions of higher learning are being closed one after the other. L. Soni and Jayandra Soni inform in their article on Sanskrit studies in Germany, etc. 'that Sanskrit cannot be studied in Berlin anymore,' that 'Indology and Sanskrit studies in Freiburg have been abandoned since 2010; and that 'no Indological studies are now possible in Münster anymore'. After the retirement of some of the most eminent professors and experts in the field of Sanskrit or Indological studies, their chairs have been abolished. From the same article we learn that the chair of Weller, after his retirement in 1958, remained vacant at Leipzig and the Indological studies were transferred to the then East Berlin. John Brockington recalls the decision of the Cambridge University 'to end the undergraduate instruction, both in Sanskrit and Hindi' in 2006; 'ironically and almost unbelievably, the decision was taken virtually simultaneously with the university bestowing an honorary Doctorate of Law on the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh'. Nalini Balbir refers to the suppression of the prestigious Strasbourg professorship of Indian studies after the superannuation of its last occupant (B. Oguibénine). The Humboldt University at Berlin has been a great seat of Sanskrit learning and till very recently Satyavrat Shastri, Dayanand Bhargava, myself and Hari Dutta Sharma have worked as the visiting fellows in the Humboldt University. The chair for Sanskrit in this university is also closed. It is feared that the pressure of socio-economic considerations would lead to evaporation of Sanskrit from many centres known for their excellence in Sanskrit studies. From other sources we learn that Leiden chair of Dr. Herman Tieken is abolished. Prof. Man Mohan Ghosh had been working for a number of years at the chair of Sanskrit instituted in Cambodia. The chair has not been re-instituted after his coming back.

The scenario of Sanskrit studies that emerges from Sheldon Pollock's article is however different and hopefully very re-

assuring. Accordingly, there has been a ‘significant transformation of Sanskrit studies in the United States after 1950 — in terms of a dramatic increase in sheer numbers of students and teachers, and expansion of Sanskrit from a handful of universities to scores of institutions offering dozens of programmes in Sanskrit at undergraduate level in the departments and centres related to the Asian studies’, whereas Sanskrit in the traditional framework of classical studies is dwindling into decay.

— 5 —

From the year 2009, The Government of India decided to confer the President’s Award — the highest national honour for Sanskrit scholars in India — for one scholar every year belonging to a country other than India also. The first scholar chosen for this rare honour was Sheldon Pollock from the US for the year 2009, and the next year the award was announced for Csaba Töttössy of Hungary. Unfortunately, both Pollock and Töttössy were unable to come for the ceremony to receive the award personally and Töttössy has expired recently. When the news of his selection for the conferment of this honour was communicated to him by this author, he wrote back (his letter being quoted in original here):

> “स्वस्ति। बुदपेष्टपुरवासीतोत्तोशिनामकः श्रीमतः संस्कृताद्यनेकविद्याविनयराजमानाञ् छ्रीत्रिपाठिराधावल्लभाख्यान् विज्ञापयति यद् भवल्लिखितपत्रगतकल्याणवचनेन परमनुगृहीता वयम्। 1956 ख्रिस्ताब्दे गीर्वाणभाषाध्यापनं हङ्गेरिदेशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य षट्चत्वारिंशत् संवत्सरा अस्माभिः संस्कृतव्याकरणकाव्येतिहासाद्युपदेशेन परिगमिताः। भारतदेशजशिष्टादिष्टविद्या अस्मच्छिष्यैः स्वधीता इति परितुष्टाः स्मः। शमिह भावत्कं भव्यमनुदिनमेधमानमाशास्महे।
>
> 2011 ख्रिस्ताब्दे पञ्चममासस्य सप्तदशे वासरे”।

The third award of the President’s Certificate of Honour for the year 2011 has been announced for Huang Baosheng (25.7.1942), a Chinese national, who has been serving at the Institute of Foreign Literature in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences at Beijing. The complete translation of the

Mahābhārata by him has won the National Book Award of China in 2008, and his work on classical Indian Poetics was awarded the excellent Achievement Prize of CASS, in 2002. Huang Baosheng has also translated selected works of Sanskrit Poetics (two volumes, 2008), and selections from *Kathāsaritsāgara* (2001) as well as the Jātakas (1985).

The concerns expressed by many authors of this volume with regard to the future of Sanskrit studies should be viewed in the larger context of human culture and future of this planet. The accounts of publications and the achievements of individual scholars present several golden linings on the otherwise dark horizons. They also provide a hope that Sanskrit will continue to function as a cementing force, bringing together diverse civilisations and cultures.

Sanskrit Studies in Argentina

Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti

As of now there are not too many people dedicated to Sanskrit Studies in Argentina. Any research work so far in this country can be ascribed to Fernando Tola, originally a Peruvian national and Carmen Dragonetti of Argentina. This husband-wife couple started working together way back in 1961 and over the years have done extensive study/research work related to the Sanskrit literature. This intellectual effort has been a result of long standing collaboration between the two in exploring the realms of Sanskrit — an interest both share intensively.

After having gone through an assortment of Sanskrit literature, Fernando Tola and Carmen visited and stayed in India from 1964–1970 to have a deeper look into various ancient Sanskrit scripts in India including the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and other works including Sanskrit grammar, theatre and poetry, etc. The exposure in India for over six years was an inspirational experience for delving deep in study and teaching of Sanskrit.

On return to Argentina Dr. Tola took up the job as Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Buenos Aires and then at the National Council for Scientific Research, Argentina. It is here that Prof. Tola and Carmen Dragonetti (as Research Scholar) got ample opportunity and assistance for prolonged and meaningful research in the Sanskrit Studies and literature.

After attaining the Superior Research Fellow nomination they whole heartedly devoted themselves for the promotion of the Sanskrit language and founded the Seminar of Indology in Argentina with the sole aim of teaching Sanskrit and Pāli alongside the Indian culture. This effort went on for quite sometime and multi-dimensional activities related to Sanskrit teaching-learning were organised in most of the important institutions of Argentina, as also at the University of Buenos

Aires and at the council for Scientific Research. During this literary campaign a number of leading government and private institutions and the internationally recognized center for Philosophical Research were also covered extensively. This went on till 1989.

In 1989, after obtaining a Fellowship from Japan, the two leading researchers set up the Institute of Buddhist Studies Foundation (FIEB) in Argentina with the sole aim of conducting research on Indian Buddhism as expressed in Pāli and Sanskrit, as also the Indian culture in general. Here they were able to attract a few dedicated scholars including Dr. Rosalia Vofchuk who after Dr. Tola's retirement from the University in 1985 is teaching in a special chair of Sanskrit.

The experience, both at the University as well as at the Institute of Buddhist Studies Foundation has been that the students are rather now more interested in the broader spectrum of India including its culture, philosophy, religion, epics, poetry and society in general rather than the Sanskrit literature as such in isolation. This tendency is can be attributed to career issues as Sanskrit in itself has not any job market in the Country.

At the Institute of Buddhist Studies Foundation (FIEB), there in now a very good library with a rich collection of Sanskrit and Pāli texts besides studies on Indian culture and tradition numbering over 12,000 volumes. These collections include several editions of the Ṛgveda, a great number of Kāvyas, philosophical treatises besides a few editions of the Mahābhārata including the critical edition from Pune, India where Dr. Tola researched on *Gita Govinda* manuscripts for over six months under the patronage of UNESCO. The students at the Institute have thus enough published material available for Sanskrit/Pāli studies and research work.

Fernando Tola, a Peruvian national, working in Argentina for over fifty years, with his exemplary research work, dedication and published works in the field of Sanskrit/Pāli studies and Buddhist philosophy has been awarded many a time by the Peruvian/Argentina Governments. In 2011 he was

nominated as the 'Honor Member' of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.

Published Works

Published (in Spanish, native language, and in English) more or less 40 books and 150 articles on Indian Culture, included Buddhism, on poetry, philosophy, religion, society, in Spanish and in English. They have been published in academic publishers and journals, in India, Germany, Italy, USA, Spain, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru. Among them mention may be made of only these:

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Sanskrit Studies in Austria, Germany and Switzerland

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In 1997 the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan published its S*anskrit Studies Outside India*, with contributions from specialists in eight countries: Australia, Canada, France, Indonesia, Italy, Sweden, Thailand and the USA. It was published on the occasion of the 10th World Sanskrit Conference held in Bangalore in 1997. In his contribution, Ashok Aklujkar (p. 12) observes that in Canada almost all universities 'are under pressure to reduce their expenditure.' He also speaks of what he calls the law of 're-: those professors who retire or resign are not replaced as far as possible; those who remain are asked to recycle themselves to teach redesigned courses' (ibid.). Many of these observations apply particularly in the German-speaking area of Europe, with which this contribution is concerned.

Exemplary work has been done in Sanskrit studies in Europe, which often set the standard especially for philologically oriented research. Unfortunately, with the closure of many institutes or departments, Indology, and with it Sanskrit as its core, is struggling for its existence in many cases. Although this paper is to deal with Sanskrit studies from 1950 onwards, it is useful to refer also to earlier times so as to highlight the continuity of the field of studies in the various institutions. In the early days the concern with Sanskrit was more from the standpoint of linguistics or comparative linguistics. Later, other aspects were introduced, like the cultural, historical and philosophical. It is in this sense that Sanskrit and allied studies were incorporated into departments or institutes bearing a wide range of names, from Indology to South Asian Studies. We are concerned here with Sanskrit studies that encompass work on texts, editions, translations, glossaries, and textually based thematic studies such as the history of ideas, cultural and philosophical investigations.

The term 'Sanskrit Studies' in these parts of Europe is difficult to define exactly, because there is no institution in any of the universities that has a department under that name. However, Sanskrit studies have been practised for almost 200 years, if one takes the example of Franz Bopp and his concern with Sanskrit in 1816, with his work in German on the conjugation-system of the Sanskrit language. Works of pioneering and prolific philologists like Otto Böthlingk and Rudolf von Roth (with their voluminous Sanskrit dictionary, 1855-75), Friedrich Stenzler (with his pioneering textbook on Sanskrit grammar, 1868), the polymath Georg Bühler (with his exemplary research on manuscripts, inscriptions, linguistics, etc.) and Jakob Wackernagel (with his comprehensive grammar on Sanskrit, 1896–1930) are testimony of a rich period of Sanskrit historical-philological scholarship in the nineteenth century. Collection of manuscripts, editions of texts, the history and translations of ancient and classical literature in various disciplines like philosophy, epics, narratives, poetry, science, law and philosophy were the ardent activities of these Sanskrit scholars in the early phase of Sanskrit studies in Europe. These are only a few names standing for a host of specialists, who have laid a stable foundation for the academic institutions of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in which Sanskrit and its literature have been taught and studied.

Unfortunately, the beginning of the twenty-first century witnesses a decline of this tradition, manifested in the closing down of well-established institutes, as indicated above (e.g. in Bochum, Köln, Münster and, very recently, Berlin and Freiburg), or a restructuring of the academic institutions, in the course of which several previously independent departments or institutes are incorporated in conglomerates of new and heterogeneous areas. Financial constraints and an alleged need for economic rationalisation are superficial reasons given for the fast and pervasive disappearance of interest in the humanities and the loss of scholarly curiosity. The powers that be fail to see that reducing scope for studies in the so-called minor disciplines in the humanities entails a loss of culture. Again Aklujkar makes a point which applies in Europe as well,

in the context of Sanskrit studies. He says: '. . . promoting of Sanskrit through financing sources established in religious studies gives rise to an unhealthy association of Sanskrit with specific religions and comes in the way of its recognition as a world heritage' (ibid., p. 15).

Considering the multitude of Indian languages, the multifaceted structure of the cultural realm and its historical complexities, it was recommended in the early 1960s that the subject of Indology be expanded. Whereas in 1954 there were only three chairs in Sanskrit and related studies, in 1984 the number was more than fivefold — clearly the opposite of the present-day trend. Associated with this decline of the emphasis on Sanskrit, is the establishment in recent years of so-called 'modern' Indology, for example in Halle, Heidelberg, Munich, Berlin, and Vienna. The trend in itself is necessary for the India of today, however, the case of India is unique: it is sometimes a matter of discussion, and sometimes taken for granted, that without research in and study of the old and middle Indian languages the modern philologies have no basis for developing further. The emphasis on modern Indology lies on research and teaching of modern languages, the regional literatures, sociologies and histories, and this development is not included in the survey in this article.

This article attempts to survey the field of Sanskrit studies and the task is fraught with many difficulties: the subject revolves around specific individuals who are specialists in one or the other of several areas that come within the field of Sanskrit studies; what should be the criterion to include one or the other? Certain specialists have rotated from one institute to another: how is it possible in such a brief survey to systematically deal with all of them? Should the emphasis be on selected institutes or selected persons? We have chosen to survey the institutions in the German-speaking countries because of the usefulness in knowing which institutions deal with which specific area in this vast field. This is being done in a broad way, so that the names chiefly of the respective heads of departments have been mentioned. Having said this, it should be acknowledged that the academic work of a

department is always constituted of the research and teaching of all its members, lecturers, assistant professors, associate professors, etc. The names of these persons can be found in the homepages of the respective institutions. These homepages have been consulted for the information provided here.

Sanskrit Studies in Austria

Sanskrit studies in Austria began in the early nineteenth century, and in 1880 Georg Bühler was appointed to the chair of Old-Indian Philology and Classical Studies (*Altertumskunde*) in the University of Vienna. He was followed by Leopold von Schroeder and Bernhard Geiger. The "Institute of Indology" was founded in the year 1955 when Erich Frauwallner became its director. His focus was on Indian philosophy, approaching the area philologically and historically. Frauwallner became an extraordinary exponent of the history of Indian Philosophy, especially through his investigation of the philosophy of Buddhism and of the interdependence of the philosophical traditions in India. He initiated the journal *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, with the Archive for Indian Philosophy. The title of the journal has now been changed to the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*.

In 1964 Gerhard Oberhammer, Frauwallner's disciple, was appointed to the chair. He focussed on the hermeneutics of religion and inter-cultural religious dialogue. He installed the "De Nobili Library Collection" and was responsible for the numerous publications of the De Nobili Library. Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and Vaiṣṇava Tantrism became the centre and special areas of his religio-philosophical research. In the same department, Roque Mesquita researched the history of Indian philosophy and religion of the classical and medieval periods and Chlodwig Werba specialises in Indo-Iranian languages (*Indoiranistik*). In 1999 Karin Preisendanz became the chairperson of the department in Vienna. Her area is the history of Indian philosophy with special reference to epistemology and the philosophy of nature.

Also in Vienna, the Institute of Tibetan and Buddhist

Studies was founded in the year 1973 and directed until 2000 by Ernst Steinkellner. His work stands also in the tradition of Frauwallner and covers especially Buddhist logic and epistemology. Over the years, the Institute became a renowned international centre for research on Buddhist philosophy. Since 1977 the Association for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies has been publishing the "Vienna Studies in Tibetology and Buddhism".

Through the efforts of Preisendanz and Steinkellner, the two institutes have now joined together as the "Institute for South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies".

In the year 1956 the "Commission for Languages and Cultures of South and East Asia" was founded under the auspices of Frauwallner; the publication series, which deals primarily with the history of Indian philosophy, has been continued until the present day under the name (since 1970) "Commission for Languages and Cultures of South Asia". In 1983 a long-term project of a dictionary of Indian epistemology and logic was started under the "Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia", headed by Oberhammer. In 1991 the 'Commission' became an integral part of the "Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia" and later, in 2006, was incorporated into the "Centre for Studies in Asian Cultures and Social Anthropology". The research in the fields of Indology, Tibetology and Buddhist Studies encompasses Indian religions and philosophies, including the history of eristic, dialectics and logic, the Rāmānuja School, the traditions of the Advaita Vedānta, Pāñcarātra, Indian Tantrism, Buddhist epistemological-logical tradition in India and Tibet, and editing Buddhist Sanskrit literature from newly available sources.

The rich heritage of textually based Sanskrit research in the various academic institutions and the vivid and prolific actual research activities has made Vienna one of the most important centres for Sanskrit studies in Europe.

Sanskrit Studies in Germany

Berlin

Indology in Berlin can pride itself of having housed some of the

greatest scholars in Sanskrit studies. In 1821 Wilhelm von Humboldt, scholar and a man of academic vision, appointed Franz Bopp as linguist and Sanskrit scholar in what is now known as the Humboldt University of Berlin. In the period from 1821 to 1945 renowned specialists like Albrecht Weber, Richard Pischel, Heinrich and Else Lüders, and Bernhard Breloer set very high standards of teaching and research in the field of Sanskrit.

In 1950 Walter Ruben was appointed to the chair of Indology at the Humboldt University, which was at that time in East Berlin. Ruben was active in several academic institutions until 1965. Equipped with a historical-philological competence, his interests lay in the field of Indian cultural and historical complexes.

In West Berlin, at the Free University of Berlin, Indology was first taught by Frank-Richard Hamm, who held the chair from 1963–64 (after which he went to Bonn). Klaus Bruhn followed him, until 1991. Bruhn's subjects are Indian philology and art history, specialising on Jaina literature and art. Indian art history was then represented by Adalbert Gail, until 2006. Since 1993 Harry Falk has been the head of the department, teaching Sanskrit literature, palaeography and manuscriptology. He has directed several ongoing and important research projects in this area.

Unfortunately for Sanskrit studies and philology, the life of the department in Berlin will last only till 2012, due to the restructuring and incomprehensible rationalisation-politics of the university. The consequence is that Sanskrit cannot be studied in Berlin any more.

Bonn

The Indological tradition in Bonn began in 1818 with one of the most renowned scholars of Sanskrit at that time, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and was continued in 1840 by Christian Lassen's prolific editing and encyclopaedic activities in the field of Sanskrit studies. Theodor Aufrecht, his successor from 1875 to 1889, is known for his editing and cataloguing work, e.g. the

all-encompassing *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The next in succession, from 1899 to 1921, was Hermann Jacobi, whose scholarship in various fields of Indian studies has been widely acknowledged. He was a scholar extraordinaire, an expert in several fields of Indology, such as Indian mathematics, epigraphy, *kāvya* and epics; he was also a profound specialist in Jainism. Willibald Kirfel, who was the head of the department from 1922 to 1955 made a name for himself as a specialist in Indian cosmography. He is also famous for his editions of the Purāṇas.

From 1955 to 1963 Paul Hacker held the chair of the "Indology Seminar" in Bonn. He applied the method of historical text critique on early Advaita texts and the Purāṇas.

In 1965 Frank-Richard Hamm was appointed to the chair. Hamm worked on the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*s, the transmission of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in Tibetan and the biography and poetry of Milarepa.

In 1976 Claus Vogel was appointed to the chair of the Indology Department in Bonn. His main areas of research have been philology and studies of the literary and historical sources of classical Sanskrit literature and its Tibetan reception, Indian lexicography and chronology, as well as the history of Indian medicine.

Konrad Klaus has been the head of the department of Indology in Bonn since 2001. The Department is now part of the newly structured IOA (Institut für Orient- und Asienwissenschaften, "Institute for Orient and Asian Studies"). His main areas of study are Veda, Buddhism and Cultural History.

Freiburg

Freiburg University looks back to a tradition of oriental studies since the end of the nineteenth century. Ernst Leumann, the renowned scholar of Sanskrit and pioneer in editing Jaina texts, was active here as an Indologist from 1919 until his death in 1931. After a break of activities during the time of the German National Socialism, oriental studies were re-installed in the 1950s, and from 1959 to 1980, Sanskrit studies were embedded

in the broad basis of Indological studies. Excellent scholars like Ulrich Schneider and Oscar von Hinüber (who chaired the Indology department from 1981 to 2006), guaranteed the extraordinary international reputation of research in Sanskrit, Middle Indian languages, Buddhism and cultural history. However, Indology and Sanskrit studies in Freiburg have been abandoned since 2010; the department has been closed down by the university authorities.

Göttingen

Sanskrit has been taught in the Göttingen University since 1826/27, when Heinrich Ewald held lectures "On the Sanskrit language and literature". Theodor Benfey, the renowned scholar of Indian narrative literature and Veda research, was professor of Sanskrit philology until 1881. His successor Franz Kielhorn continued Benfey's work on Pāṇini and indigenous Sanskrit grammar as a philologist who was trained not only in the occidental historical-philological method but also in the traditional Indian way. He excelled also in research on epigraphy. The trend of a research tradition initiated by him is visible in his famous disciple Heinrich Lüders who worked on Indian phonetics and the Grantha recension of the *Mahābhārata*, and continued the epigraphical work initiated by Benfey (Lüders was appointed to the chair in Berlin 1909–35). In 1908 Hermann Oldenberg was appointed to the chair and he brought his fundamental Buddhist research to Göttingen. He also continued the research tradition on the Veda and *Mahābhārata*. His successor Emil Sieg, who worked on Central Asian languages, promoted research on Veda, Pāṇinian grammar, epics and Buddhology. In 1936 Ernst Waldschmidt succeeded him and he focussed on the investigation of the Turfan manuscripts. With intensive research on the Sanskrit texts of the Turfan manuscripts done by Waldschmidt and his disciples, Göttingen became a centre for research in Buddhist literature. Together with his wife, Rose Leonore, Waldschmidt also researched Central Asian and Indian art.

Heinz Bechert held the chair in Göttingen from 1965 to 2000, during which time Buddhology became the main area of

research. The philological method was supplemented by perspectives on the history of religion. The polymath Gustav Roth, who was also active and affiliated to the Indology department in Göttingen 1965–81, is renowned for his linguistic and cultural studies in Jainism and Buddhism.

The focus of research and teaching of the Department of Indology and Tibetology in Göttingen is focussed on the investigation of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism with Thomas Oberlies as the head of the department, since 2002. The methods of religious studies are employed and, since texts are important sources for these religions, special emphasis is given to philology. Philology is understood as "the art of interpretation of texts", which means that it encompasses not only the linguistics, but also all aspects of Indian culture (e.g. history and sociology). An ongoing project at present is an investigation of "the morphology and grammar of the old-Indian ritual", clarification of principles and techniques of the acquisition of knowledge and research activity concerning "Religion as the venue of conflicts".

Halle

Sanskrit as been taught in Halle since August Wilhelm Pott held the professorship 1833-87 for general linguistics. Bertold Delbrück, a scholar of Indo-European languages, the profound philologist Richard Pischel, the specialist for Indian lexicography Theodor Zachariae, and the Avesta and Veda scholar Karl-Friedrich Geldner are well-known names who were teachers and scholars in the field of Sanskrit and related studies in Halle. From 1903 until 1927 Eugen Hultsch was the professor for Sanskrit there, and he excelled in the research of Śāstra and Indian epigraphy. Richard Schmidt, editor and translator of Indian narratives, the bibliographer Wilhelm Prinz, and Betty Heimann with her focus on Indian philosophy and culture, enriched the academic life in Halle. The renowned Indologist Paul Thieme, who was proficient in many areas pertaining to Sanskrit (Veda, epics, Kāvya, Śāstra) was professor in Halle from 1941 to 1953. The university authorities changed the structure of the institutes of the university in

Halle and the department of Indology was suspended until 1992, when the chair was re-installed with Johannes Mehlig who held it until 1994. Since 1995 Walter Slaje has been professor in what is now called the Seminar for Indology, as part of the Institute for Classical Studies (*Altertums-wissenschaften*). The focus of study is on the history of ideas of the manifold philosophical and religious trends of the greater Indian cultural realm. The basics of teaching and the methods of research are those of historical-critical philology of the extant sources.

Hamburg

The Seminar for Culture and History of India in Hamburg was founded in the beginning of the twentieth century. From 1914-19 the first scholar who represented Hamburg's Indological studies was Sten Konow. He was a versatile linguist and an Indologist specialised in Vedic philology, epigraphy and Indian theatre. He was succeeded by Walter Schubring who held the chair from 1920 to 1950. Schubring's thorough learning and intense scholarly devotion focussed on the history of the literature and doctrine of Jainism. From 1950 until 1972 Ludwig Alsdorf was the head of the institute and influenced not only the development of the seminar in Hamburg but of Western Indology through the high level of his learning and academic activities. He was an authority on Jainism, Vedic philology, epigraphy and cultural studies. Albrecht Wezler was his successor until 2003. His main areas of research have been grammatical literature, cultural history and philosophy. He was honoured with the Max Planck Prize 2000 for his endeavours as director of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.

In 1966 a second chair specifically for Buddhist studies was installed in Hamburg. The first head was Franz Bernhard, who held it for five years. From 1973 to 2005 Lambert Schmithausen held the chair for Indian and Buddhist studies. His main research pertains to Indian Buddhism, Buddhist ethics and Yogācāra. In 2006 Harunaga Isaacson was appointed Professor of Classical Indology. His main research areas are Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric Traditions, Kāvya, Purāṇa and Sanskrit

manuscripts.

Heidelberg

The South Asia Institute in Heidelberg was founded in 1962, as an interdisciplinary centre for research and academic teaching on South Asia. The emphasis of Classical Indology there is on the culture and religious history of South Asia, concentrating on Sanskrit and Pāli as the core languages. Hermann Berger was the head of the department from 1964 to 1992 and his field was classical Sanskrit and the Burushaski language. Before the Institute was officially founded, Heinrich Zimmer was active in Heidelberg from 1922 to 1939, and his Indological work included fields such as Indian philosophy, the art of Indian Asia (as the title of his book is called), myths and symbols in Indian art. Salomon Lefmann (linguistics, *Lalitavistara*) and Max Walleser (Buddhist philosophy, and Sanskrit) are also renowned Indologists who were active in Heidelberg in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Willem Bollée (Jainism, Buddhism, Middle Indo-Aryan) and the late Günther Dietz Sontheimer (Indian religions and traditional legal systems) are also two well-known Indologists who were associated with Heidelberg and who have made significant contributions in their fields of specialisation.

The present head of department (since 1998) is Axel Michaels, whose multifaceted and major research activities include ritual history and Dharmaśāstra.

Kiel

In the University of Kiel, Sanskrit became a subject in the nineteenth century in the area of comparative linguistics, including old and middle Indian languages and literatures. It hosted several outstanding Indologists as professors. Hermann Jacobi held the chair from 1885 to 1889. When Jacobi left Kiel for the University of Bonn, Hermann Oldenberg succeeded him in Kiel until 1908. Oldenberg was also an eminent scholar who excelled in Vedic and Buddhist studies. Otto Schrader, who for many years had been a very learned and efficient director of

the Adyar Library in Madras, was appointed to the chair in Kiel in 1921. Although he retired in 1945, he continued to lecture during the precarious times after the war. Schrader worked in the field of Buddhism, edited the minor Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā* recensions and also concentrated on Dravidian studies.

After the war the chair was not occupied until 1962 when it was renewed, and Siegfried Lienhard was appointed. He held it only for five years, until 1967, when he went to Stockholm. Lienhard's main areas of research were Indian classical literature and Newar Buddhism. From 1968 to 1972 Dieter Schlingloff was entrusted with the chair (having then gone to Munich). His special fields are Sanskrit Buddhism, cultural history and Buddhist art.

From 1976 to 1993 the very versatile indologist Bernhard Kölver was the head of the department in Kiel. Kölver's emphasis and rich publication with regard to Sanskrit studies was on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *Arthaśāstra* and Kāvya. In 1970 Kölver was entrusted with the task of laying the foundations of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Kathmandu. Later, in the winter semester of 1989, Kölver became the head of department in the University of Leipzig. Continuity of the Kiel academic tradition has been maintained under the present head of the department, Horst Brinkhaus (since 1995). Brinkhaus's research emphasis has been on Kāvya, the epics and Purāṇic Sanskrit literature.

Leipzig

Teaching and research of Sanskrit was institutionalised in Leipzig in 1841, when Hermann Brockhaus was appointed professor there. His pioneering editions of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Prabodhacandrodaya* are well known. Friedrich Max Müller and Ernst Windisch are two of his many outstanding disciples. Windisch succeeded to the chair and, from 1877 to 1918, made Leipzig an even more important centre for the study of Indian antiquity. He approached the subject from the perspective of linguistics, philosophy and history of literature. His *magnum*

opus is the *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und Indischen Alterthumskunde* (The History of Sanskrit Philology and Indian Antiquity). He was followed by Johannes Hertel in 1919. Hertel's ground-breaking work was on the *Pañcatantra* and he conducted prolific research on the history of Indian narrative literature. Friedrich Weller succeeded him in 1938 as the head of the department. His special competence, not only in Sanskrit but also in Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian, widened his perspectives with regard to Central and East Asia. His endeavours were concentrated on the research of the Buddhist canon and Vedic studies. Weller was a member of the editorial board of the journal *Asia Major*, and later of the *Orientalistischer Literaturanzeiger*. After his retirement in 1958 the chair remained vacant and Indological studies were transferred to the then East Berlin.

In 1969 Klaus Mylius was appointed to publish material for teaching Sanskrit. *In this capacity he published several works: A Sanskrit-German, German-Sanskrit Dictionary* (1975, 4th edn. Munich 1992); *A Chrestomathy of Sanskrit Literature* (1978, 3rd edn. Munich 1992); and *A History of Old Indian Literature* (1983, revised edn. Bern 1988). His area of research also includes Vedic Studies.

After the political change in Germany in 1989–90, the chair for Indology in Leipzig was re-instated, and Bernhard Kölver became the head of the department. His wide outlook opened up a vast range of perspectives and methods for the Indological studies carried out in the department, ranging from Sanskrit, Tocharian, Dravidian languages, text critique and philological investigations of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, linguistics of Newari, to the culture and architecture of the Kathmandu valley.

In 2004 Eli Franco was appointed as the head of the department in Leipzig. His main areas of research are Indian philosophy and Buddhism. He re-organised the study of Sanskrit, introduced spoken Sanskrit, Indian art history, and emphasises the field of Indian Philosophy.

Mainz

The Department of Linguistics in the University of Mainz closely cooperated with the Institute for Indology, when the chair for the latter was installed in 1963 and entrusted to Georg Buddruss. Buddruss specialized in the languages of the Hindukush and the Karakorum, besides Sanskrit as the core language for Indological studies. At present the department is headed by Konrad Meisig whose main areas are Buddhism and Hinduism.

Marburg

There was no department of Sanskrit or related studies in Marburg in the first half of the nineteenth century, although Sanskrit was taught in the context of other departments: by the philosopher Franz Vorländer (1843/44), the theologian Johannes Gildemeister (1845) and the philologist Ferdinand Justi (from 1865 onwards). Albert Thumb became head of the department of Indo-Germanic linguistics (1901–09) and it was in Marburg that he published his manual for Sanskrit. In 1907 the well-known Veda scholar Karl Friedrich Geldner accepted the chair and established an excellent Indological research centre in Marburg. In 1921 another Veda scholar, Hanns Oertel, was appointed to the chair for three years. Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, who cooperated closely with the theologian Rudolf Otto, held the chair until 1927. Meanwhile, the emeritus professor Geldner continued lecturing until Johannes Nobel acted as the head of the department of Indology in Marburg in 1928. Nobel's manifold linguistic abilities allowed him to set up an intricate teaching and research structure for Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. His most outstanding works pertain to Indian poetics and Mahāyāna Buddhism. He retired from academic activities in 1957 when Wilhelm Rau succeeded him as the head. Rau's rich research work focussed on Vedic and grammatical literature, an outstanding edition of the *Vākyapadīya*, cultural history and realia. He was succeeded by Michael Hahn, a reputed scholar of Buddhist and Sanskrit literature and classical Tibetan. Hahn headed the department from 1988 to 2006. The institute in Marburg was enriched by the scholarship

of Bhikkhu Pāsādika (Eckhard Bangert), a German Buddhist scholar-monk who was an honorary professor in the department until 2006. He is a specialist in Buddhist studies. The tradition of Indological research and teaching in Marburg continued with the appointment of Jürgen Hanneder in 2007, as the head of the department of Indology and Tibetology in the faculty of foreign languages and cultures. The emphasis of his research is Sanskrit philology, classical and modern Sanskrit, and the history of religions of India.

Münich

The Sanskit scholar Othmar Frank taught Sanskrit in Munich from 1826 to 1840. He is the author of a Sanskrit chrestomathy and of the first Sanskrit grammar that was published in Germany. The succession to the chair continued without interruption until 1945. From 1948 to 1968 Helmut Hoffmann was appointed to the department who, apart from classical Tibetan, focussed on Sanskrit Buddhism. Dieter Schlingloff was appointed to the chair in Munich and he headed the department from 1972 to 1996. His special fields are Sanskrit Buddhism, cultural history and Buddhist art. Since 1999 Jens-Uwe Hartmann heads the department. His areas are Sanskrit Buddhism and classical Tibetan. The department is also noted for the contribution to Sanskrit studies by a host of specialists who are exponents of excellent Sanskrit scholarship; to mention but a few names: Adelheid Mette (Sanskrit and Prakrit), Gritli von Mitterwallner (Indian art, epigraphy and numismatics) and Friedrich Wilhelm (*Arthaśāstra*, Indian history and classical Tibetan).

Münster

In the University of Münster, Sanskrit was taught as a subject already in the nineteenth century, alternatively housed in various departments of the university. Indology and Sanskrit studies were represented by stalwarts like Hermann Jacobi (from 1876 to 1885), from 1910-30 Richard Schmidt and Ludwig Alsdorf from 1938-43. Paul Hacker was the director from 1963 to 1978. The main areas of his research were Vedānta and

Purāṇa. Ulrich Schneider, whose scholarship encompassed a broad spectrum of research in ancient Indian literature, Buddhism and Hinduism, succeeded Hacker from 1980 to 1987. Adelheid Mette headed the department in Münster from 1987 to 2000. The focus of her scholarship is Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. However, the department has now been closed down and no Indological studies are now possible in Münster anymore.

Tübingen

Indology in the University of Tübingen began more than one and a half centuries ago, when Rudolf von Roth started teaching Sanskrit in the year 1845. He became professor in 1848. Sanskrit philology and the history of religion were combined at that time as the special profile of the department. Roth is famous as a Vedic scholar and is also renowned for his contribution to the *St Petersburg Dictionary of Sanskrit*. In 1895 Richard von Garbe, internationally known for his editions and translations of the Śrautasūtras and Sāṁkhya texts, succeeded to the chair. In 1927 Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, whose Indological interest focussed on religion and Yoga, became the director the institute until 1945.

From 1947 to 1959, the prolific and versatile scholar Helmuth von Glasenapp was appointed to the chair of what was then called "Indology and Comparative Religious Studies" in Tübingen. He continued to teach in the tradition of Roth and Garbe, lectured and wrote on Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Indian philosophy and literature. Paul Thieme was appointed in 1959 and a circle of excellent scholars was formed around him, with whom he shared his knowledge of traditional Indian grammar and Kāvya. Thieme's research, characterized by philological attentiveness and insightful interpretations of various and different themes, ranged from Vedic studies and grammar to studies in cultural history and realia. After Thieme retired in 1973, Heinrich von Stietencron became the director of the seminar. In keeping with the established tradition of combining Indology and religious studies in Tübingen, the key areas of research were the various aspects of ritual and

iconography of Indian religions and Purāṇa studies. An ongoing project is the research of historical development of religious communities in Orissa. From 1999 onwards, Klaus Butzenberger has been the head of the department. His main areas of research are Indian philosophy and logic, indigenous grammar, Jainism and Buddhism.

Würzburg

The first Sanskrit course in the University of Würzburg was held by the philologist Othmar Frank in the early nineteenth century. Occasional courses in Sanskrit were continued until Julius Jolly, a scholar of Indian law and custom and Indian medicine, was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics in 1877. He continued to teach and research in Würzburg until 1928. There was an interruption of Sanskrit studies in Würzburg in the succeeding years. From 1949 onwards, however, Sanskrit was affiliated sometimes to the department of comparative linguistics and sometimes to Indology and Indian philology. Since 2001, Heidrun Brückner has been the head of the department of Indology in the Institute for the Cultural Studies of East and South Asia. The department is open to many aspects of India's history of ideas and culture, with a special emphasis on classical Sanskrit theatre, performance studies and south Indian studies.

Sanskrit Studies in Switzerland

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, Sanskrit studies were first conducted by scholars of Indo-European languages in the nineteenth century, as in other parts of Europe. Jakob Wackernagel was one of the foremost linguists who did pioneering work on Sanskrit with his *Altindische Grammatik*. He was professor in Basel University from 1879 to 1902, after which he went to Göttingen and remained there from 1915 till his retirement in 1936. Wackernagel's student, Albert Debrunner, became the head of department of classical philology and Indo-German studies in Bern and made it a centre for Sanskrit studies.

Sanskrit studies in Zürich began in 1856 with the

appointment of Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. He was followed by Adolf Kaegi in 1883 and Sanskrit studies continued under him until 1912, when he was followed by the linguists Eduard Schwyzer and Manu Leumann. Thus, in Switzerland in the early twentieth century, Sanskrit studies have been conducted by linguists in an unbroken tradition till today.

With specific regard to Indological and Sanskrit studies, the name of Emil Abegg has to be mentioned, who was a professor in Zürich in 1919. He taught and researched there till 1955. His area of expertise was Indian philosophy and the history of religions. Paul Horsch was active in Zürich, albeit for a short period because of his untimely death in India, from 1967 to 1972. His area of expertise was the Vedas, Indian philosophy and literature; he was also co-editor of the Swiss journal *Asiatische Studien*. On account of Horsch's sudden death, Indology in Zürich could not be established, until 1989 when Peter Schreiner became the head of the department there. Schreiner's area of studies includes text analysis and philology of the history of religion, philosophy and literature of the classical period, Purāṇas and epics. He headed the department until 2009 when Angelika Malinar was appointed. Her areas of specialisation include Indian philosophy, aesthetics and Hinduism.

Conclusion

In concluding this brief survey, it must be noted that Indology and Sanskrit studies have also been promoted by many state funded and/or private research institutions in the respective countries, for example the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) in Germany and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Austria, organisations like the Ernst Waldschmidt Foundation in Berlin, several academies of sciences, such as in Göttingen, Heidelberg and Mainz. The state and main library of the University of Göttingen has prepared an extremely useful online tool called "Resources for the Study of South and Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures" (www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/ fiindolo/fiindole.htm).

The subject specialist for South and Southeast Asian languages is Reinhold Gruenendahl. Entries include, for example “Subject search for books relating to South and Southeast Asian languages and cultures” and “Manuscripts in South Asian Languages”. Practical information can also be obtained on the same website, such as the “Guide to Electronic Information”, with several links, like “Online Bibliographies, Electronic Texts, Internet Resources on Southeast Asia”. Links and electronic access points for Sanskrit and allied studies are also provided, such as “SARAI: South Asia Research Access on the Internet” and “Internet Resources for South Asian Studies”. To this list may also be added: “SARDS: South Asia Research Documentation Services”, which has developed a database for Sanskrit studies. The Turfan Research Foundation housed in the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (www.bbaw.de/-forschung/ turfanforschung) has already made publicly available in digitised form more than 30,000 of the 40,000 fragments discovered in Turfan. Finally, ‘GRETIL: Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages’, is a cumulative register of the numerous download sites for electronic texts in Indian languages.

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Sanskrit Studies in Britain

John Brockington

The course of Sanskrit studies in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century has been determined in part by a succession of reports on the state of Oriental Studies (the first of which somewhat preceded this period), rather more by government policies on higher education in general, and perhaps mainly by the financial climate affecting universities. The overall effect of these influences was some expansion of provision from the mid-1960s for about a decade and an initially slow but now accelerating decline thereafter. The picture is thus a contrasting one of individual achievements and, during most of the period, institutional neglect. In 1947 the Report of the Inter-departmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, chaired by the Earl of Scarborough (The Scarborough Report) had recommended that the whole range of Asian and African studies should be developed in London, while other universities should be enabled to build up strong departments within particular fields only. Its main recommendations were accepted by the government but the funds made available proved ephemeral and grants earmarked for Oriental Studies ended in 1952. Within a decade another government inquiry was commissioned, this time by the University Grants Committee: the Report of the Sub-Committee on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, chaired by Sir William Hayter (The Hayter Report) submitted in 1961. It documented the initial rapid increase in posts following the Scarborough Commission, particularly in language departments, but without a commensurate increase in student numbers, and concluded that the need was now for area studies. So in its wake increased attention was given to the development of the social sciences, with an inevitable diminution of emphasis on language

teaching. Nevertheless, the general expansion of British universities linked with the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, chaired by Lord Robbins) of 1962 was beneficial to South Asian studies in general, including Sanskrit; that report in fact reflected, rather than initiated, the post-war trend to higher education expansion.

However, the Parker Report of 1986 ("Speaking for the Future" — a review of the requirements of diplomacy and commerce for Asian and African languages and area studies, submitted by Sir Peter Parker) found that provision had declined in the previous 15 years but further accelerated the shift towards the modern period and social sciences, in line with its terms of reference, and away from classical languages, despite paying lip service to them.[1] By this date, there were already beginning to be pressures on British universities to make financial viability of subjects at least as significant as their academic value, with the consequent pressures on Asian languages to justify their existence in terms of staff student ratios and general cost effectiveness.[2] Moreover, the appearance of these reports at roughly twenty-year intervals in itself points to the lack of a continuing national policy on these subjects (as was actually noted in the Parker Report) which could offset individual universities' short-term considerations.

The state of area studies in general (within which by now Sanskrit tended to be subsumed) was indeed noted with concern by the report "Area Studies in the United Kingdom" prepared in 1993 by Professor Richard Hodder-Williams for the Area Studies Monitoring Group, with its comment: "Realistic assumptions would suggest that the aggregate number of area studies scholars will reduce over the next thirty years unless there is a major injection of new posts into the university system." Over the last decade or so an element of uncertainty,

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1 "A capacity in Oriental languages is a mark of maturity of a university."

2 Despite the warning in the Parker Report itself that "the supply of posts should not be measured against undergraduate demand. In this case national interest must come first".

even volatility, has indeed entered into the funding of higher education in Britain and staffing levels in Sanskrit have been maintained only at the minimum required for effective teaching and research; there is now only one established chair in the subject remaining. In the current state of the global economy, coupled with the market-driven approach of university administrations, the future looks bleak. It is therefore all the more important to celebrate the achievements of Sanskritists in Britain during these six decades. Outstanding work was carried out by internationally recognised scholars such as Sir Harold Walter Bailey,[3] John Brough,[4] Thomas Burrow[5] and Sir Ralph Lilley Turner,[6] while others have followed them more recently and are still active. However, it is perhaps most useful next to chart the fortunes of Sanskrit at the four universities where an undergraduate degree in Sanskrit is or has been offered (for the opportunities for students at the undergraduate level are shrinking steadily) — London (SOAS), Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh — and then to add something on Sanskritists who have found university posts in other disciplines, mainly Religious Studies, but have continued to contribute to Sanskrit studies.

At the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), R.L. Turner, who had been elected as Professor of Sanskrit in 1922, occupied the chair until the age of retirement in 1954[7] and thereafter turned back to producing his *magnum opus*, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966), followed by indexes, a phonetic analysis and a large volume of addenda. John Brough, who had been appointed to a lectureship in Sanskrit in 1946, was elected to a second chair of Sanskrit in 1948, which he held until his move in 1967 to Cambridge, and to the headship of the Department of India,

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3 1889-1996; Iranian philology.

4 1917-84; Veda, Kāvya and Buddhist philology.

5 1909-86; Sanskrit language and Dravidian philology.

6 1888-1983; Indo-Aryan linguistics.

7 He continued as Director of SOAS until 1957.

Pakistan and Ceylon. During his time at SOAS he published The *early Brahmanical system of gotra and pravara: a translation of the Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* (Cambridge University Press, 1953) for which he had earlier been awarded a D.Litt. by Edinburgh (where he had first studied Sanskrit under A.B. Keith) and *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (Oxford University Press, 1962), while his work in the field of Sanskrit grammatical and linguistic studies is represented by a flow of articles. For a wider readership he also published two well-regarded volumes of translation: *Selections from classical Sanskrit literature* (1951) and *Poems from the Sanskrit* (1968). In 1959 Brough was joined as Professor of Sanskrit by J.C. Wright, who then continued in the post until his retirement in 1999. Clifford Wright's publications in book form were tributes in one form or another to his two predecessors: the volume of addenda and corrigenda to Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (1985) and *Collected Papers of John Brough* (co-edited with Minoru Hara, 1996). However, he also published a significant number of primarily philological articles in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* to which he also contributed a steady stream of reviews. Arnold Bake, primarily remembered as a musicologist,[8] was in fact Reader in Sanskrit from 1949 (having been appointed as Lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Music a year earlier) until his death in 1963, working closely with Brough in the teaching of the language. J.E.B. Gray similarly was first Lecturer and then Reader in Sanskrit; author of the widely popular *Indian Tales and Legends,* translated from Sanskrit and Pāli (1961, often reprinted), he also compiled a *First Year Sanskrit Course* (1981) as well as working on Veda recitation in South India. Soon after Brough's move to Cambridge, Tuvia Gelblum was appointed in 1968 to a lectureship in Sanskrit, although before long, in 1972, he was appointed to a Readership in Indian Philosophy, a post which he held until his retirement in 1993; his main work, undertaken in collaboration with Shlomo Pines and published serially in the SOAS *Bulletin,* was Al-Bīrūnī's Arabic translation of the

8 His archives are divided between the Kern Institute and SOAS.

Pātañjala Yogasūtra. John Smith was then Lecturer in Sanskrit from 1975 to 1984, before moving to Cambridge. Wright was next joined in the teaching of Sanskrit, briefly, by Peter Schreiner and then more permanently in 1989 by Renate Söhnen-Thieme, at first as Lecturer and latterly as Senior Lecturer, who has more recently herself been joined from 2005 by Whitney Cox, after a decade during which the teaching of Sanskrit was restricted to a single post, assisted by casual teaching or by a post shared with King's College. Published after she moved to London, but produced during her previous time at Tübingen University, the *Brahmapurāṇa* (text, indices and summary of contents, with Peter Schreiner, in two volumes, Wiesbaden, 1989) is Söhnen-Thieme's most substantial work, alongside her earlier Untersuchungen zur Komposition von Reden und Gesprächen in Rāmāyaṇa (2 vols, 1979),[9] although she has also published an English translation with revisions of A.F. Stenzler's *Primer of the Sanskrit Language* (1992) and edited the second volume of Paul Thieme's *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1995). Her main research interests are the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas, the development of ancient Indian narrative literature and Sanskrit syntax and stylistics. Whitney Cox has particular interests in south India, including the interaction under the Cōḷas between Sanskrit and Tamil.

The School of Oriental and African Studies has, however, the advantage that several staff in other departments are competent in Sanskrit. From the early part of this period, in the then Indology Department, one can note Arnold Kunst,[10] David Friedman[11], Padmanabh S. Jaini[12] and Robert Williams,[13] while

9 The latter is the first substantial study of either epic from the standpoint of literary technique rather than philology or subject matter.

10 Lecturer in Indian Religions, who published the text of Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* in 1951.

11 Lecturer from 1950 and then Reader in Indian Philosophy from 1959 to 1970.

12 Lecturer in Pāli, 1956-57.

from the later part of the period being surveyed, there is Julia Leslie, who joined SOAS in 1990 from Goldsmith's as Lecturer and then Reader in Hindu Studies until her untimely death in 2004. Julia Leslie had particular interests in Dharmaśāstra and in gender issues, exemplified in *The perfect wife: the orthodox Hindu woman according to the Strīdharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan* (1989) and the edited volumes *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women* and *Rules and remedies in classical Indian law* (both published in 1991). She also edited *Myth and mythmaking: continuous evolution in Indian tradition* (1996) and, with Mary McGee, *Invented identities: the interplay of gender, religion, and politics in India* (2000) but her last and most significant book is *Authority and meaning in Indian religions: Hinduism and the case of Vālmīki* (2003), a sensitive exploration of the figure of Vālmīki from the *Rāmāyaṇa* through to his contemporary worship by the Valmik community in Britain. Subsequently Angelika Malinar was Senior Lecturer in Hinduism before she was appointed to the chair at Zürich; during her time in London there was published her *The Bhagavadgītā: Doctrines and Contexts* (2007), which develops but abbreviates her outstanding *Rājavidyā: Das königliche Wissen um Herrschaft und Verzicht. Studien zur Bhagavadgītā* (1996). Others in the Department of the Study of Religions include Kate Crosby, Peter Flügel, Theodore Proferes and, as Research Associate, Brian Black, while in the School of Law there is Werner Menski.

At Cambridge the chair of Sanskrit was established in 1867 but its last two holders were H.W. Bailey (1936-67) and John Brough (1967-84), after which it was left unfilled and in effect terminated. Teaching of Sanskrit continued, however, but Cambridge University decided in 2006 to end undergraduate instruction in both Sanskrit and Hindi, retaining only postgraduate courses; ironically and almost unbelievably, the decision was taken virtually simultaneously with the university bestowing an honorary Doctorate of Law on the Indian Prime

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13 Lecturer in Indo-Aryan and Jain Studies 1949-53 and 1957-62 — in between these dates returning to the India Office Library as Assistant Keeper — and author of *Jaina Yoga,* 1963.

Minister Manmohan Singh. Harold Bailey had been the first lecturer in Iranian studies at SOAS before he was elected to the chair of Sanskrit at Cambridge and was not primarily a Sanskritist, but the Cambridge chair gave him the freedom to pursue his Iranian studies, most notably his philological studies of Khotanese, in which he was a pioneer, inaugurating a whole new field within Iranian studies. Much of John Brough's energies during his time at Cambridge were directed to the planning with Japanese colleagues of a regrettably unrealised *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms,* dealing on historical principles with the translation of Sanskrit and Prakrit words into Chinese; one by-product of this was his article on I-ching's comments on the Sanskrit grammarians (*BSOAS* 36 [1973]: 248-60) but overall it further lessened his published output. By contrast, K.R. Norman, appointed lecturer in Pāli in 1955 and retiring as Professor of Indian Studies in 1992, has published extensively, mostly through the Pali Text Society, of which he was President from 1981 to 1994, as well as being editor-in-chief of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* for several years (and developing some of the earliest computer fonts suitable for Sanskrit in transcription). The Pali Text Society has published eight volumes of his *Collected Papers* so far, as well as his translations or editions of Buddhist texts: *Elders' Verses,*[14] *The Group of Discourses,*[15] *The Word of the Doctrine* (1997), *Bhikkupāṭīmokkha* (W. Pruitt's edn, 1999) and Buddhaghoṣa's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (with W. Pruitt, 2003); among the books published elsewhere his magisterial *Pāli Literature* (A History of Indian Literature, 7.2, 1983) cannot be omitted.

Following John Brough's sudden death in 1984, the Sanskrit position was reduced to a lectureship and John D. Smith was appointed in the same year, subsequently becoming Reader in Sanskrit until 2007. He has worked on both Sanskrit and Rājasthānī, in which his book publications are *The*

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14 2 vols, 1969-71, 2nd edn, 2007.

15 2 vols, 1984-92, 2nd edn, 2001.

Vīsaladevarāsa: a restoration of the text[16] and *The epic of Pābūjī: a study, transcription and translation* (1991). However, his production of an improved electronic version of the Critical Edition text of the *Mahābhārata* has provided an extremely useful research tool; this text, released in 1999, is a corrected and enhanced form of the first electronic version of the *Mahābhārata* (released by Professor Muneo Tokunaga), carried out with the aid of a team of scholars at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, which now includes * passages and Appendix I passages. His development of special fonts (including further development of Roy Norman's fonts) and other software has also been a real service to other Indologists.

John Smith was joined at Cambridge in 1989 by Eivind Kahrs, who is now Reader in Sanskrit in what has now become the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (in which, however, there is no separate Sanskrit or South Asian section to match those for East Asia and the Middle East), following the 2006 abolition of undergraduate teaching in Sanskrit and Hindi. Kahrs's research interests are in Indian intellectual history, particularly Sanskrit linguistics and philosophy of language. His publications include I*ndian semantic analysis: the method of nirvacanam* (1998) and *On the study of Yāska's Nirukta* (2005), the Professor K.V. Abhyankar Lectures at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, in 2003. He has also worked on the Pāli grammarians and is the Honorary Secretary of the Pali Text Society. He is currently working on notions of agency, selfhood and identity in Mīmāṃsā philosophy.

In 2007 Vincenzo Vergiani, who had been a lecturer in Indology for a few years at Rome University, was appointed as Lecturer in Sanskrit to replace John Smith. His main areas of research are the Sanskrit grammatical traditions and the linguistic and philosophical specula-tions stemming from them; he is a member of the international team led by Prof.

16 1976, produced while he was at SOAS but the fruit of his previous research fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge.

Saroja Bhate (Pune) working on the critical edition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, the first part of which was published in 2009. Vergiani is also investigating the construction of a Brāhmanical ideology and socio-religious identity around the beginning of the common era. As a result of his recent interest in Classical Tamil and its intellectual traditions, he organised an international workshop on "Bilingualism and Cross-cultural Fertilisation: Sanskrit and Tamil in Mediaeval India" in 2009 with Whitney Cox of SOAS.

Others at Cambridge who have been prominent in classical Indian studies are Raymond Allchin, Bridget Allchin and Julius Lipner. Raymond Allchin was Lecturer in Indian Art and Archaeology from 1959 to 1972 and then Reader in Indian Studies until he retired in 1989 (he died in 2010). Bridget and Raymond Allchin together wrote the major work, *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (1968), revised in 1982 as *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan,* as well as founding the biennial Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe.[17] In the late 1970s, with Johanna van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, her husband Jan and Professor Sir Harold Bailey, the Allchins created the Ancient India and Iran Trust, located in Cambridge, to house its founders' libraries and photographic archives. Julius Lipner was appointed as a lecturer in Hinduism in 1975 and is now Professor of Hinduism and the Comparative Study of Religion; his research interests include the study of Vedānta, exemplified in his first book *The Face of Truth: a study of meaning and metaphysics in the Vedāntic theology of Rāmānuja* (1986), while he is also the author of the well-known *Hindus: their religious beliefs and practices* (1994, 2nd enlarged and revised edn 2010). He was also the first director of the Dharam Hinduja Institute of Indic Research (1995-99), which during its all too short life[18] did much to foster and co-ordinate the activities of scholars working on Hinduism within Britain, and edited one of the

17 Of which Bridget Allchin was for three decades secretary-general.

18 Until late 2004, when funding from the Hinduja Foundation was withdrawn.

volumes of articles arising from its conferences: *The Fruits of Our Desiring: an enquiry into the ethics of the Bhagavadgītā for our times* (1997).

At Oxford, which boasts the oldest chair of Sanskrit in Britain,[19] Thomas Burrow had been in post as the sole teacher of Sanskrit since 1944[20] and continued until his retirement in 1976; he was also the Keeper of the old Indian Institute, before its library was taken over by the Bodleian Library and the building by the History Faculty and Burrow himself moved to a room in the new Oriental Institute. Of his many publications on Sanskrit, the best known are *The Sanskrit Language* (1955, revised edn 1973) and *The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit* (1979), putting forward a view on the development of the Sanskrit vowel system at odds with that of most Indo-Europeanists. However, his most important work was in Dravidian linguistics, in particular the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961, with a supplement published in 1968 and a 2nd edn in 1984), produced in collaboration with Professor Murray B. Emeneau of Berkeley, but also his research on little known or even previously unknown Dravidian languages which survive in small linguistic communities in central India.

In 1965 R.F. Gombrich was appointed as Lecturer in Sanskrit to assist Burrow, succeeding him as Boden Professor in 1976, until his retirement in 2004; after retirement he founded and is the first President of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies, besides being a past President of the Pali Text Society (1994-2002) and the first General Editor (1999-2008) of the now regrettably defunct Clay Sanskrit Library. Just as Burrow's main interests were in Dravidian linguistics, Gombrich's have been in Theravāda Buddhism and Pāli texts. His *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (1971, 2nd rev. edn 1995) was an innovative anthropological study of

19 The Boden Professorship, established in 1827, though not filled till 1832.

20 From 1937 to 1944 he had been Assistant Keeper in the Dept of Oriental Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, during which time he developed his interest in Dravidian languages.

contemporary Sinhalese Buddhism, arguing for its continuity with the orthodox Buddhism of the Pāli Canon. His other publications include *Theravāda Buddhism: a social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo* (1988) and, jointly with Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed* (1988).

Richard Gombrich's successor as Boden Professor is Christopher Z. Minkowski, who came to the post from Cornell University. His main research interests are in Vedic language literature and religion, the Sanskrit epics, and early modern intellectual history and history of science. He has published *Priesthood in ancient India: a study of the Maitrāvaruṇa priest* (1991) as well as a series of articles, particularly on Nīlakaṇṭha, the seventeenth-century author and commentator. Sanskrit has also been taught by James Benson, University Lecturer in Sanskrit for the last two decades; his main research interests are in Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā and he has published *Patañjali's Remarks on Aṅga* (1990) and *Mīmāṃsānyāyasaṃgraha: a Compendium of the Principles of Mīmāṃsā* (2010) as well as revising Michael Coulson's *Sanskrit: an introduction to the classical language* (1992).

Alongside these two posts (from 1965), the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics has been held by scholars competent in Sanskrit from its endowment by H.N. Spalding in 1936. The first incumbent from 1936 to 1952 was Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who was also for part of that time Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University and subsequently became the first Vice-President 1952–62 and then the second President of India 1962–67. Of his many publications, only his translation of the *Dhammapada* (1950) falls within both his tenure of the Oxford chair and the period under review.

Although Radhakrishnan's successor, R.C. Zaehner, had been an Iranianist up till then (as shown in his first major book, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma,* 1955), on his election in 1952 he saw it as one obligation of the post to become expert in Hindu thought and so also proficient in Sanskrit. One outcome of this was his translation and commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* (1969).

The suddenness of Zaehner's death in 1974 was one reason for a delay in filling the chair.

However, in 1977 the outstanding philosopher, Bimal Krishna Matilal was appointed to the post, which he held till his tragically early death in 1991. His combination of great expertise in Navya-Nyāya and broad interests are well shown by the fact that two of his last works were *The Word and the World: India's contribution to the study of language* (1990) and the volume he edited (and to which he contributed a typically perceptive article), *Moral Dilemmas in the Mahābhārata* (1989). Other notable works from his time at Oxford are *Logical and ethical issues of religious belief* (1982), *Logic, language and reality* (1985) and *Perception: an essay on classical Indian theories of knowledge* (1986). Since 1992 the Spalding Chair has been held by Alexis Sanderson, previously Lecturer in Sanskrit at Oxford from 1977; his main area of research has been tantric forms of Śaivism, on which he contributed the section "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions" to *The World's Religions,* ed. Stuart Sutherland and others (1988), as well as many monograph-length articles in various other edited volumes.

Others connected with Oxford who have or have had an interest in Sanskrit studies are Gillian Hart,[21] Anna Morpurgo Davies,[22] Elizabeth Tucker[23] and Nick Allen.[24]

At Edinburgh the Regius Chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, created in 1862 mainly by the endowment of John Muir, the older brother of the better known Islamicist, Sir William Muir, was the third Sanskrit professorship to be established in Britain, following University

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21 Primarily an Indo-Europeanist, who studied Sanskrit with Thomas Burrow.

22 Professor of Comparative Philology, retired 2004.

23 Research Fellow in Indo-Iranian Philology, currently working on an edition, translation and linguistic commentary on *Atharvaveda Paippalāda Saṃhitā* 11.

24 Since retirement as Reader in the Social Anthropology of South Asia, he has been studying Indo-European aspects of the *Mahābhārata*.

College, London, in 1852, but preceding Cambridge in 1867. The discontinuing in 1949 of the chair (appointment to which was by government nomination as a Regius chair), following the death of its third holder A.B. Keith in 1944, might well be seen as symbolic of a changed official attitude towards India in the wake of independence. In fact, John Brough had applied for the chair after Keith's death but it was left unfilled. Although the Scarborough Committee's report in 1947 had chosen Edinburgh University as a centre for Oriental Studies, Islamic studies were the prime beneficiary and for Sanskrit there followed a considerable period of temporary, stop-gap appointments (among them A.K. Warder briefly) during which the teaching of the language reached a low ebb.

However, in 1963 M.A. Coulson was appointed as Lecturer in Sanskrit and held the post until his sudden death in 1975 cut short a promising career. Besides several articles, he was the author of *Three Sanskrit Plays in Translation* (1981) and *Teach Yourself Sanskrit*[25] and had produced a critical edition of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava,* which was subsequently prepared for publication by Roderick Sinclair (1989).

Michael Coulson was joined in 1965 (as part of the general expansion of university provision in the mid-1960s) by John Brockington and, following Coulson's death, the second post in Sanskrit was filled by Paul Dundas from 1976. The institution of the second post permitted a considerable expansion of the syllabus and the introduction of teaching on Indian culture and religions. Surprisingly, in view of the considerable standing by that date of Sanskrit and still more of Islamic studies at Edinburgh, the Parker Report of 1986 failed to mention any aspect of Asian studies in Edinburgh, and indeed in some other centres outside London.

John Brockington was appointed to a personal Professorship of Sanskrit in 1998, having previous been

25 1976, subsequently revised by Richard Gombrich and James Benson and now entitled *Sanskrit: an introduction to the classical language,* 1992 and reprints.

promoted to Reader in 1989. His main fields of research have been in the Sanskrit epics and the history of Hinduism and his major publications include *The Sacred Thread: Hinduism in its continuity and diversity* (1981),[26] *Righteous Rāma: the evolution of an epic* (1985), *Hinduism and Christianity* (1992) and *The Sanskrit Epics* (1998); jointly with Mary Brockington he has also published the translation, *Rāma the Steadfast: An Early Form of the Rāmāyaṇa* (2006). Both John and Mary Brockington participated significantly in the compilation of the *Epic and Purāṇic Bibliography, up to 1985,* compiled by H. von Stietencron and others (1992) and have been much involved with the Dubrovnik International Conferences on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, for which Mary Brockington edited the proceedings of the first conference (with Peter Schreiner, 1999) and the second (2002); she has also edited (with Greg Bailey) *Epic Threads: John Brockington on the Sanskrit Epics* (2000) and published articles on epic topics. John Brockington was the first convener of the flourishing Centre for South Asian Studies at Edinburgh established in 1989 and he has been Secretary General of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies since 2000. One year after his retirement in 2006,[27] Edinburgh hosted the 13th World Sanskrit Conference (the first and in all probability the only time that a WSC will be held in Britain).

Meanwhile Paul Dundas has been establishing an international reputation in Jaina studies, with research interests also in Middle Indo-Aryan philology and classical Sanskrit literature and literary theory; he was promoted to Reader in Sanskrit in 2004 and is or has been on the editorial boards of several journals, including the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* and the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion.* He has published *The Jains* (1992, rev. 2nd edn 2002, also translated into Italian), *The Meat at the Wedding Feasts: Kṛṣṇa, vegetarianism and a Jain dispute* (1997) and *History, scripture and controversy in a medieval Jain sect* (2007), as well as many major articles. His

26 2nd edn 1996, and translations into Polish and Magyar.

27 By this time his successor was in post and so there was another individual to share the organisational load.

current projects include a translation with commentary of Yaśovijaya's *Dvātriṃśaddvātriṃśikā* and a systematic investigation of the Sanskrit and Prakrit texts of the "Haribhadra corpus".

The second post in Sanskrit was filled once more at lecturer level in 2005 by Peter Bisschop, who previously had been part of Hans Bakker's team at Groningen working on the earlier *Skanda Purāṇa* (and then held a research fellowship at Oxford); one outcome of this work is his *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: sects and centres* (2006). His departure already in 2010 to become Professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Cultures of South Asia at Leiden University had the effect of reducing the staffing in Sanskrit again to one, and it raises serious questions about its continuing viability at Edinburgh as a degree subject at undergraduate level, although teaching of language and religion is expected to continue in some form. But the separateness of the Scottish education system from the English is no longer sufficient in the present financial climate to protect such a long established subject.

Outside the historic centres at which chairs of Sanskrit were established, in more recent times a considerable amount of Sanskrit teaching has been carried out and research on Sanskrit-based topics pursued within departments of religious studies (the precise name varying between different universities), where several individuals who had trained as Sanskritists secured employment as teachers of Hinduism and have in that context also taught some Sanskrit. However, such teaching has always been as an adjunct to other subjects, not as the full degree subject necessary to produce the next generation of Sanskrit teachers. The earliest of these scholars was, I believe, Dermot Killingley who, after a period teaching Sanskrit at the University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, was appointed as a lecturer (1970-80) and then Reader in Hindu Studies (1980-2000) at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. Although his main research interests have been in the Bengali reformers, he has produced a Sanskrit primer in three volumes, *Beginning Sanskrit* (1996-2004) and, with his late wife Siew-Yue

Killingley, *Sanskrit* (1995) in a Languages of the World series, as well as for many years from 1984 convening the annual conference on The Sanskrit Tradition in the Modern World. Another early instance of a Sanskritist in a department of religious studies was Friedhelm Hardy, who had just retired as Professor of Indian Religions at King's College, London, when he died in 2004. Fred Hardy also learned Tamil in the course of his doctoral research, the result of which was his remarkable *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (1983), establishing the indebtedness of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to the poetry of the Tamil Āḻvārs; he was also the author of *The Religious Culture of India: Power, Love and Wisdom* (1994) and the editor of *The World's Religions: the Religions of Asia* (1990).

Others located in departments of religious studies are (in alphabetical order): Simon Brodbeck, Gavin Flood, Jonardon Ganeri, James Hegarty, Will Johnson, Freda Matchett, David Smith, Jacqueline Suthren Hirst and Lynn Thomas. Three of these are part of a cluster of Sanskritists within the department of Religious Studies and Theology at Cardiff University. The longest established is Will Johnson, who went there in 1992 and is now Reader in Indian Religions. His particular field of research is in Jainism, in which he has published *Harmless Souls: Karmic Bondage and Religious Change in Early Jainism* (1995), but he has also published a number of translations of Sanskrit epic and dramatic material: *The Recognition of Sakuntala* (2001), *The Bhagavad Gita* (2004) and *The Sauptikaparvan of the Mahabharata* (2008). Then in 2006 James Hegarty joined Will Johnson and is now Senior Lecturer in Indian Religions; his doctoral thesis at Manchester was on narrative patterning in the *Mahābhārata* and this continues to be a main research interest. Most recently, Simon Brodbeck has joined this cluster (working with James Hegarty on the "History of Genealogy" project and as lecturer) but he has already published *The Mahābhārata Patriline: gender, culture, and the royal hereditary* (2009) and edited, with Brian Black, *Gender and Narrative in the Mahābhārata* (2007), which was the outcome of the "Epic Constructions" project at the School of Oriental and African Studies initiated by Julia Leslie before her death.

Gavin Flood, after periods as a lecturer at the University of Wales, Lampeter, and then Professor of Religion at Stirling University, is currently the Academic Director of the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies (and has been granted the title of Professor of Hindu Studies and Comparative Religion from the University of Oxford). His publications include *Body and Cosmology in Kashmir Śaivism* (1993), *An Introduction to Hinduism* (1996) and *The Tantric Body: the secret tradition of Hindu religion* (2005); he is also the editor of *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism* (2003). Jonardon Ganeri is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sussex and has used his fluency in Sanskrit for example in his *Philosophy in Classical India: The Proper Work of Reason* (2001), as well as editing in three volumes the collected papers of his teacher, B.K. Matilal. Freda Matchett's doctoral thesis at Lancaster, where she also became a research fellow till her death in 2008, was reworked as the significant study, *Kṛṣṇa: Lord or Avatāra? the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu in the context of the* avatāra *myth as presented by the* Harivaṃśa, *the* Viṣṇupurāṇa *and the* Bhāgavatapurāṇa (2001). David Smith is Reader in South Asian Religions; his publications comprise *Ratnākara's Haravijaya: an introduction to the Sanskrit court epic* (1985), *The Dance of Śiva* (1996) and *Hinduism and Modernity* (2003), as well as articles on Sanskritic Hinduism, Sanskrit literature and Indian temple sculpture.

Jacqueline Suthren Hirst joined the Department of Religions and Theology at the University of Manchester in 1994 and is now Senior Lecturer in Comparative Religion; her main interest is in Vedānta and in particular Śaṅkara, on whom she has published *Śaṃkara's Advaita Vedānta: a way of teaching* (2005), as well as several articles. She has also taken over from Dermot Killingley the organising of the Sanskrit Tradition in the Modern World conferences, which now take place in Manchester. Lynn Thomas has been at Roehampton University since 1989 as lecturer and, from 1993, Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies; her main research interests are Sanskrit epic literature and Hindu mythology, on both of which she has published a number of articles (her Oxford thesis was on theories of cosmic time in the *Mahābhārata*). Jacqueline Suthren

Hirst and Lynn Thomas jointly edited *Playing for Real: Hindu Role Models, Religion and Gender* (2004), a volume arising out of one of the conferences held by the Dharam Hinduja Institute of Indic Research at Cambridge.

Some others who trained as Sanskritists have gone into other academic-related posts. J.P. Losty was formerly Head of Prints, Drawings and Photographs, at the British Library's Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, retiring in 2005 after 34 years working at the British Library, during which his publications included the major work, *The Art of the Book in India* (1982). After retirement he curated a spectacular exhibition, "Love and Valour in India's Great Epic", centring on the British Library's Jagat Singh *Rāmāyaṇa* miniatures, and published *Love and Valour in India's Great Epic* (2008). Similarly, Michael Willis is Curator for South Asia in the Department of Asia at the British Museum, in charge of the early South Asian and Himalayan collections and conducting research on them; his special interests include Sanskrit, Tibetan and the history of south Asian religions and he has published *Inscriptions of Gopakṣetra: Materials for the History* of *Central India* (1996), *Temples of Gopakṣetra: A Regional History of Architecture and Sculpture in Central India, circa 600-950* (1997) and *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India* (2000). Dominik Wujastyk was for many years Associate Curator for South Asian Collections at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, producing while there *A Handlist of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Wellcome Library* (2 vols, 1985-98), before moving to the Woolner Project at the University of Vienna; he has also published *Metarules of Pāṇinian Grammar: the Vyāḍīyaparibhāṣāvṛtti,* critically edited with translation and commentary (2 vols, 1993) and *The Roots of Āyurveda* (1998, rev. edn 2001). However, Dominik Wujastyk is undoubtedly best known as the founder of the Indology discussion list and then the associated website, which have proved so useful to all of us in the discipline.

Mention should also be made of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Society for South Asian Studies, the second of which merged in 2007 with the British Association for South Asian Studies under the latter's name. Although their remit is much

wider than Sanskrit studies, both organisations have assisted in securing public awareness of the subject to a certain extent. Also, it is worth recording that the Clay Sanskrit Library provided a significant source of employment for a number of recent graduates in Sanskrit during its all too brief period of activity.

As is regrettably obvious from the preceding survey, the status of Sanskrit within the university system in Britain has progressively become more marginal over the six decades under review as individual universities have responded to financial pressures by easy expedients, such as leaving vacant or abolishing posts whose incumbent has retired or moved elsewhere. Unfortunately, in a subject like Sanskrit, where numbers are so small to begin with, such tactics have seriously harmful repercussions. In the absence of any real policies at a national level (whether directly from the government or from the central funding bodies), despite the periodic enquiries into the state of Asian studies, there is nothing to counteract this trend. A striking contrast to this relative neglect at the level of individual universities and the central authorities is the esteem in which many of the scholars listed have been held by their peers, which is shown by the considerable number elected to membership of national academies. The following were all elected as Fellows of the British Academy: Raymond Allchin (elected in 1981), Harold Bailey (1944), John Brough (1961), Thomas Burrow (1970), Julius Lipner (2008), Roy Norman (1985), Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1938), R.L. Turner (1942, Vice-President 1952-53) and Robert Zaehner (1966); similarly John Brockington was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (2001), as earlier had been the noted scholar of Tamil and Malayalam, R.E. Asher (1991).

Some have even been honoured in this way by other national academies; for example, Harold Bailey was a corresponding member of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish academies, the Australian Academy of the Humanities, the Institut de France, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed. Estremo

Oriente, while Roy Norman was elected as a foreign member of the Royal Danish Academy (1983). Sanskrit studies in Britain have had and still have some highly distinguished exponents and this fact deserves recognition, whatever the seemingly bleak future may hold.

Sanskrit Studies in China

Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri

1. Introduction

In China, the Central Asian and the Indian monks painstakingly projected Sanskrit as the divine language, but their Chinese disciples just branded it as a language of the barbarians.[1] It was doomed from the very beginning, because in about a thousand years of Sino-Indian Buddhist contacts, nobody took the trouble to prepare a grammar of the language for the Chinese. The famous Chinese pilgrim I-Ching laments that Sanskrit grammar was thoroughly neglected in China, although it held the key to understanding the language.[2] The textbook that was used widely in China and Japan is just a four-page work, prepared with the sole object of reading *mantra*s written in Siddham letters, the form of Brāhmī script used in China. The first part of this paper will make a brief review of some of the information on Sanskrit grammar recorded in Chinese works and this textbook. The second part will deal with contribution of Sanskrit to the Chinese linguistics, rather than phonetics to be precise, which is the main topic of this paper.

2. Grammar and Translation

2.1 HIUEN TSANG

Hiuen Tsang (CE 602-64) did not write much about Sanskrit in his travelogue. The monks Hui-li and Yen-tsung, however, give some information on Sanskrit grammar in their biography of Hiuen-tsang *Ta-tz'u-en-ssu-san-tsang-fa-shih-chuan*. The information can be summed up as follows.[3]

The *chuan* (inflection) can be divided into two groups, *tiṅanta* and *subanta*. The *tiṅanta* group (verb) is divided into *parasmai* (*pada*) and *ātmane* (*pada*), and each has nine inflections, making eighteen in all. The nine inflections are

made up of three forms of "a thing", three forms of "others", and three forms of "self". The three forms are singular, dual, and plural. (Here, "a thing", "others", and "self" mean third person, second person, and first person respectively.) The nine inflections are made up of three persons and three numbers. In the case of *parasmai*(*pada*), they are /*bhavati*/, /*bhavataḥ*/, /*bhavanti*/ for third person; /*bhavasi*/, /*bhavathaḥ*/, /*bhavatha*/ for second person; and /*bhavāmi*/, /*bhavāvaḥ*/, /*bhavāmaḥ*/ for first person. The three examples are for singular, dual, and plural respectively. The *ātmane*(*pada*) forms are obtained by adding /*vi*/, /*ya*/, and /*te*/ to these nine forms. The *subanta* noun group has three genders, *nan-sheng* (masculine), *nü-sheng* (feminine), and *fei-nan-fei-nü-sheng* (neuter). It has eight inflections, *t'i* (nominative), *so-tso-yeh* (accusative), *tso-chü* or *neng-tso* (instrumental), *so-wei* (dative), *so-yin* (ablative), *so-shu* (genitive), *so-i* (locative), and *hu-chao* (vocative). Each inflection has three forms *shuo-i* (singular), *shuo-erh* (dual), and *shuo-to* (plural). So there are twenty-four inflected forms in all. Table 1 shows the inflected forms of /*puruṣa*/ (man) given in this work.

Table 1: Twenty-four inflections of puruṣa

Nominative	*puruṣaḥ*	*puruṣau*	*puruṣāḥ*
Accusative	*puruṣam*	*puruṣau*	*puruṣān*
Instrumental	*puruṣeṇa*	*puruṣābhyām*	*puruṣaiḥ*
Dative	*puruṣāya*	*puruṣābhyām*	*puruṣebhyaḥ*
Ablative	*puruṣāt*	*puruṣābhyām*	*puruṣebhyaḥ*
Genitive	*puruṣasya*	*puruṣayoḥ*	*puruṣāṇām*
Locative	*puruṣe*	*puruṣayoḥ*	*puruṣesu*
Vocative	*he puruṣa*	*he puruṣau*	*he puruṣāḥ*

2.2. I-CHING

I-Ching (CE 635-713) also gives us a brief account of Sanskrit in his travelogue *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chuan*, written around CE 691-92. In this I-Ching says that there are forty-nine letters which combine with each other and which are arranged in eighteen sections. Every noun has seven cases, and each case

has three numerical categories, i.e. singular, dual and plural. One man is called /*puruṣaḥ*/, two men: /*puruṣau*/, and three men: /*puruṣāḥ*/. Besides the seven cases, the vocative case constitutes an eighth case. The nouns are called *subanta*. There is a note saying that they have twenty-four forms. There are ten /*la*/ sounds which indicate the three tenses. The verbs have three forms, first, second, and third persons. In all there are eighteen verb forms called *tiṅanta*. I-Ching does not explain these terms.[4]

2.3. FA-TSANG

Fa-tsang (CE 643-712), a monk of the Sogdian descent, has given some information on Sanskrit grammar in his *Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi*, a commentary on the *Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra*. He refers to the six *samāsa*s and the eight declensions. The six *samāsa*s are *i-chu-shih* (*tatpuruṣa*), *ch'i-yeh-shih* (*karmadhārāya*), *yu-ts'ai-shih* (*bahuvrīhi*), *hsiang-wei-shih* (*dvaṁdva*), *lin-chin-shih* (*avyayībhāva*), and *tai-shu-shih* (*dvigu*).

About declension, he says that one must know the eight types of declensions in order to understand the books of the West. He gives the following example of /*puruṣa*/ (man) in Chinese transcription of the eight declensions:

puruṣaḥ	:	The case of direct indication. (Nominative)
puruṣam	:	The case indicating something to which something has happened. (Accusative)
puruṣeṇa	:	The case indicating the instrument with which something is done. (Instrumental)
puruṣāya	:	The case indicating for whom something is done. (Dative)
puruṣāt	:	The case indicating a causal relation. (Ablative)
puruṣasya	:	The case indicating possession. (Genitive)
puruṣe	:	The case indicating staying with. (Locative)
he puruṣa	:	The case for calling somebody.

Fa-tsang also says that there are masculine, feminine, and neuter genders. The examples cited above are those of the masculine. Each of the cases mentioned above has three forms, *sheng* (singular), *sheng-shen* (dual), and *to-sheng-shen* (plural). Thus there are twenty-four declensions. There are twenty-four declensions each for the feminine and neuter genders also. In all, there are seventy-two declensions.[5]

2.4. UNDERSTANDING THE GRAMMATICAL TERMS

The grammatical terms used in the above works create more problems than solving them. Let us take the case of, say, plural. Hiuen-tsang's biography gives it as *shuo-to*, literally meaning "explain-many". Fa-tsang gives it as *to-sheng-shen*, literally meaning "many-voice-body". The word *yu-ts'ai-shih* used by Fa-tsang for *bahuvrīhi samāsa* literally means "possessing-wealth-explanation". Considering the resources available in those days, it is doubtful if any contemporary Chinese could have formed any idea of the true meanings of the terms even with the help of a teacher.

2.5. WRONG TRANSLATION OF SŪTRAS

The victim of the neglect of Sanskrit grammar in China was the translation of *sūtra*s. It ruled out the possibility of any Chinese acquiring a good knowledge of written Sanskrit sitting in China. Similarly, very few Central Asian and Indian monks acquired any reasonable degree of knowledge of written Chinese. But a good knowledge in the two written languages is indispensable for accurate translation. The first-ever biography of the Central Asian and Indian monks in *Ch'u-san-ts'ang-chi-chi* written between CE 510-18 repeatedly laments wrong translations. In one place in the biography of Kumārajīva it says: "A look at the translations done till that (Kumārajīva's) time shows that there are lots of mistakes in meanings. This is because the earlier translators lost the meanings of expressions and did not match them with the Western books."[6]

2.6. *HSI-T'AN-TZU-CHI*, THE SIDDHAM PRIMER

Around CE 800, a Chinese monk Chih-kuang (CE ? - 806) wrote *Hsi-t'an-tzu-chi* (An Account of Siddham Letters), a four-page work, under the guidance of a south Indian monk named Prajñābodhi.[7] It became the standard textbook of Sanskrit in China and the far-East, or at least that's what they believed popularly. As the title shows, it deals only with the Siddham letters, the form of Brāhmī script used in the far-East, and their combinations, like compound letters and vocalic combinations. The pronunciations are given in Chinese transcript. It says nothing about grammar. Tāntric Buddhism with primary emphasis on *mantra*s was very popular at that time. This book was prepared for training the Tāntric monks to pronounce the *mantra*s correctly.

2.7. CHINA AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON SANSKRIT

Some people are interested in data and dates. For instance, when was the *varṇamālā* conceived? For them, China holds some answers. The Chinese, following the native tradition of historiography, wrote down the information they received on Sanskrit along with the date. This has left very valuable dated evidence for the posterity. For instance, the oldest specimen of *varṇamālā* (in Chinese transcription) appears in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* translated by Fa-Hien in CE 418. Another instance is the letter /*r̥*/ pronounced something like /*ri*/ in some areas of India and /*ru*/ in others. The textbook *Hsi-t'an-tsu-chih* mentioned above discusses this phenomenon in Group 3 letters of Section 18. Again, the word *deva* (god) is pronounced as *deba* in some linguistic areas. It is recorded in *Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi* written between CE 510-18.[8]

3. Sanskrit and Chinese Phonetics

Although Sanskrit failed as a language in China, the story is quite different when it comes to Sanskrit phonetics. Acceptance of Sanskrit phonetics is a unique phenomenon in Chinese intellectual history that did not repeat until the modern times. It is a secular area, and the Chinese response to

it was dictated by sheer necessity. The Chinese were badly in need of the phonetic ideas of Sanskrit, especially those embedded in the *varṇamālā*. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Chinese phonetic ideas are based to a large extent on Sanskrit phonetics.

3.1. INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

The Chinese rulers were governing the country with the help of scholar-officials, recruited through civil service examinations, at the time when Buddhist monks were introducing Sanskrit to the Chinese via translation of Buddhist scriptures. As these civil servants were the most powerful group in the society, there were many aspirants for these jobs. As anybody could appear in the examinations, educational institutions sprang up all over China to coach the aspirants. Although very few succeeded, the positive side is that this created a vast pool of literary class. There is evidence to show that the activities of Buddhist monks from the western regions attracted the attention of Chinese intellectuals around CE 100. The poem titled "Hsi-ching-fu" (Ode to the Western Capital) written around this date by a Chinese poet named Chang Heng (CE 78-130) says that even the virtuous *śramaṇa* (Buddhist monk) would be captivated by the beauties of Ch'ang-an (the western capital).[9] It will not be wrong to assume that a few of these intellectuals became curious to know about these missionaries. After meeting the missionaries, these intellectuals must have been amazed to find that anybody from any region or time period would read a Chinese character in just one way once it was written down in Siddham, the script of the monks. The amazement was because the Chinese had no means to write the readings of their characters. Moreover, the readings differed from region to region and also with the passing of time.

3.2. PROLIFERATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS

The Chinese wrote their language with the help of ideographs that conveyed meanings and not readings. The number of

characters proliferated because a character was conceived for every idea and object. The number of characters soon became so great that it was physically impossible to remember them. The gravity of the situation can be guessed easily from *Shou-wen-chieh-tzu*, the oldest extant dictionary of Chinese characters, compiled around CE 100. It contains more than 9,000 characters. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the sounds of the characters changed with locality and with the passing of time. A victim of such changes in the readings of characters was Chinese poetry. Rhyming was a basic component in Chinese poems. So when the readings changed, as can be seen in the example given in the next section, the rhyming syllables in a poem did not rhyme in many cases. In fact, their ancient poems that were at the core of literary activities during the period often did not rhyme. Academic study and appreciation of such poems became a big problem for the literati. This is one of the important factors that forced the Chinese intellectuals to strive hard to evolve a method for recording the readings of Chinese characters that would not change.

3.3. THE *TU-JO* SYSTEM OF READING THE CHINESE CHARACTERS

The results of the initial attempts fructified in the form of using a known character to express the sound of a difficult one. The use of this method, called *tu-jo*, can be found in the dictionary *Shou-wen-chieh-tzu* mentioned above. For instance, the reading of the character *jih* (sun) is given here by the character *shih* (fruit).[10] The readings differ today, but at that point of time they were the same, although there is no way at present to determine precisely what the sound was. This is also a good example to show that the readings of characters changed with the passing of time. The *tu-jo* method is indeed very cumbersome since one must know the reading of a character beforehand.

3.4. COMPOSITION OF CHINESE SYLLABLE

An idea of the composition of Chinese syllables is needed now to understand the next stage of development. Each Chinese character consists of a monosyllabic sound that can be represented by *S* = *IMVE/T,* where *S* = syllable, *I* = initial consonant, *M* = medial vowel, *V* = main vowel, *E* = end consonant, and *T* = tone. The group *MVE* is called the final or rhyme, and as against this, *I* is called the initial. For instance, in the character /*kuan*/ (official), /*k*/ is *I,* the initial; /*u*/ is *M*, the medial vowel; /*a*/ is *V*, the main vowel; and /*n*/ is *E*, the end consonant. There are characters where, of the *IME,* one or two or all the three are missing. In short, a character must have the sound *V*, and the others may or may not be there.

3.5. THE *FAN-CH'IEH* SPELLING SYSTEM

The Chinese soon found that the *tu-jo* system of knowing the reading of a character with the help of another was impractical. Their attempts to solve the problem produced what is known as the *fan-ch'ieh* system of spelling. In the *fan-ch'ieh* system, two characters are used to express the sound of a character. The first character represents the initial (*I*), and the second character represents the final or rhyme (*MVE*). For example, the reading of the character /*tung*/ (east) is given with the two characters /*te*/ (virtue) and /*hung*/ (red) with the character *fan* or *ch'ieh* added below as a technical term to tell the reader that the initial /*t-*/ should be taken from /*te*/ and the final or rhyme /*-ung*/ should be taken from /*hung*/, and the character concerned should be read as /*tung*/. This system also suffers the same limitation that one should know the reading of a character beforehand. Moreover, it cannot take care of the changes in readings with locality and time. Yet it became the accepted and standard means of spelling the characters.

The oldest reference to the origin of the *fan-ch'ieh* system appears in *Yen-shih chia-hsün* by Yen Chih-t'ui (CE 531-91). It says that Sun Yen, who lived towards the end of the Han period (latter half of the second century), was the only man who knew the system. It was practised extensively during the Wei period

(CE 220-65), but people could not understand its principle.[11] What is interesting here is that in CE 291 an Indian monk Mokṣala (Chi. Wu-lo-ch'a) introduced forty-two Siddham letters in Chinese transcription in his translation titled *Fang-kuang-po-jo-ching*. The letters start with */a/*, */ra/*, */pa/*, */ca/*, */na/*, */la/*, */da/*, */ba/*. . . . In short, this set consists of one vowel letter */a/*, one compound letter */sva/* and forty consonant letters.[12] It would not have been very difficult for a scholar with interest in linguistics to notice the fact that the sounds of the consonant letters consisted of an initial consonant plus the vowel */a/*. About a century separates Sun Yen, mentioned above, from Mokṣala, but he may have extracted similar information from some missionaries of his time.

3.6. INTRODUCTION OF SANSKRIT PHONETICS

Sanskrit came to China along with its phonetic script and information at this critical point of time. The first Chinese to discover the script and phonetics of Sanskrit and write about them was Hsieh Ling-yün (CE 385-433), a leading poet of his time. An Indian monk Dharmakṣema (Chi. Wu-ch'en) had translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, a very important Buddhist text, between CE 414-26. As its chapterization did not suit the Chinese, the local Buddhist brotherhood requested Hsieh Ling-yün and two others to rearrange it in Chinese fashion. While doing so, he came across the *varṇamālā* (in Chinese transcription) along with some relevant phonetic information. He was so impressed by the phonetic script of *varṇamālā* and the related information that he studied them seriously with the help of Indian and India-retuned Chinese monks. Hsieh Ling-yün had a valid reason for doing so. As a poet, it is certain that he was also facing the problem of reading the characters. This is because, as stated above, rhyming was a basic feature in Chinese poems, and when reading changed with time and place, quite often the rhyming syllables no longer rhymed. So Hsieh Ling-yün had a natural curiosity for phonetic script, since here the readings never changed. He wrote down the information he got on the *varṇamālā* and its phonetics for his fellow Chinese intellectuals.

He says that Sanskrit has fifty letters divided into two groups, sixteen vowels and thirty-four consonants. Of the consonants, */ka/*, */kha/*, */ga/*, */gha/*, */ṅa/* are tongue-root sounds, */ca/*, */cha/*, */ja/*, */jha/*, */ña/* are within-the-tongue sounds, */ṭa/*, */ṭha/*, */ḍa/*, */ḍha/*, */ṇa/* are sounds produced close to the tip of the tongue, */ta/*, */tha/*, */da/*, */dha/*, */na/* are tongue-tip sounds (they are also called tongue-top sounds), */pa/*, */pha/*, */ba/*, */bha, /ma/* are called within-the-lips sounds, and */ya/*, */ra/*, */la/*, */va/*, */śa/*, */ṣa/*, */sa/*, */ha/*, */llaṃ/* are behind-the-lips sounds which reach up to the tip of the tongue.[13]

In sounds, there are half-sounds. When the sounds of letters are joined together, they are called full. The sounds are half-letters. When half-sound letters are joined together they form full-letters. In sounds, the half-sounds form the basis. In letters, half-letters naturally form the basis. Unlike the usual practice, letters are derived from sound. Sound is the basis here. Sounds are not derived from letters.[14] By half-letters Hsieh Ling-yün may have meant the vocalic signs and consonantal ligatures, and by full-letters he may have meant the compound consonants and the combination of vocalic signs with the consonants. It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion from this meagre information. He knew that the letters carried phonetic values and that a number of them joined together to form a word.

Hsieh Ling-yün knew that the consonants came in two groups, the plosive group made up of twenty-five letters and the non-plosive group consisting of nine letters. He mentions "five letters" in his writing. It refers to the twenty-five plosive consonants, which come in five groups of velars, etc. and each group consisting of five letters. His definition of the groups differs somewhat from that used in traditional Indian grammar. In Sanskrit, both the unvoiced and voiced letters have unaspirated and aspirated forms. Hsieh Ling-yün uses the terms *ch'ing* meaning "light" and *chung* meaning "heavy", which stand for unaspirated and aspirated forms respectively in Chinese phonetics, only with the fourth and the third letters, i.e. the voiced letters.[15] This suggests that Chinese of his time

had an unaspirated-aspirated distinction in unvoiced sounds but not in voiced sounds. The Chinese, therefore, had no problem with the unvoiced letters. The problem was with the voiced letters. So, while revising *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Hsieh Ling-yün added the note to caution the readers about the unaspirated-aspirated distinction in the voiced letters. He also touched upon the mechanism involved in the production of plosive and non-plosive sounds, exhaling in the case of plosive sounds and inhaling in the case of non-plosive sounds.

3.7. SPECULATION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE *FAN-CH'IEH* SYSTEM

The *fan-ch'ieh* system of denoting the sound of a character became very refined and well established by the sixth century. *Yü-p'ien*, a dictionary compiled in CE 543 gives the *fan-ch'ieh* readings of all the characters recorded in the dictionary. All the subsequent dictionaries give the readings of characters in *fan-ch'ieh*. Speculating on the origin of *fan-ch'ieh*, a Southern Sung period (1127-1279) scholar Shen Kua writes in his *Meng-hsi pi-t'an* that the science of *fan-ch'ieh* came from the western regions. In reading a character, people during the Han period (206 BCE–CE 220) used to cite another character with the same reading and say that the character was read like the character thus cited. They did not use the *fan-ch'ieh* system.[16] Other Sung (SUNG) period works like *T'ung-chih* of Cheng Ch'iao (CE 1104-60) also ascribe a Western origin to *fan-ch'ieh*. In short, many Chinese scholars considered Siddham as a major contributory factor in the development of the *fah-ch'ieh* system of writing the sound of a character.

3.8. CONSONANT CLASSES

One of Siddham phonetic concepts that the Chinese adopted is the classification of consonants on the basis of their places of origin. The Chinese scholars adopted this phonetic classification of consonants, but there was no standardization in China. The identity of consonants varied from author to author. Taking the dentals /*ta*/, /*tha*/, /*da*/, /*dha*/, /*na*/ as an instance, Hsieh Ling-yün described them as tongue tip or

tongue top sounds, whereas Chih-kuang defined them as guttural sounds.[17]

In China, there was a traditional form of classifying sounds called *wu-yin* or the five sounds used in music. The musical scale was divided into the five steps known as *kung*, *shang*, *chüeh*, *chih*, and *yü*, starting with the lowest and ending in the highest. These terms were also used in phonetic writings. After the Sanskrit terms were introduced, the Chinese phoneticians switched over to the Sanskrit concept in their writings, with some modification. The Chinese established seven consonant classes to cater to the needs of their language. The terms used by the Chinese for these classes differ somewhat from those of Siddham, although the concept remains the same. The English equivalents of the Chinese terms are given below, along with their literal meanings, in order to avoid any misunderstanding. First, there are five major classes. They are *ya-sheng* meaning "molar sounds" or velars, *ch'ih-sheng* meaning "tooth sounds" or dentals, *she-sheng* meaning "tongue sounds" or linguals, *hou-sheng* meaning "throat sounds" or gutturals, and *ch'un-sheng* meaning "lip sounds" or labials. In addition to the above five, there are two minor sound classes, consisting of one consonant each, viz. *pan-ch'ih-sheng* meaning semi-dental and *pan-she-sheng* meaning semi-lingual.

A speculation on the link between Siddham and the evolution of the concept of seven consonant classes in Chinese can be found in a passage in the preface of *Ch'i-yin-lüeh*, a work of Cheng Ch'iao (CE 1104-62) on rhyme tables. It states as follows:[18]

> The literati of the Han period knew how to analyse characters (graphically) according to the (dictionary called) *Shuo-wen*, but they did not know that each word consisted of a mother (*mu*) and a child (*tzu*). The mother starts the word and the child follows. . . . The classification of sounds in seven categories originated in the Western countries and from there was introduced into China. . . . Chinese monks adopted this system and gave it a definite form.

3.9. SOUND TYPES

Chinese sounds come in four basic types. The sounds can be unaspirated, aspirated, unvoiced, and voiced. It appears that the terms *ch'ing* (light), *chung*, *ch'ing* (pure),[19] and *cho* respectively were coined for them. These terms appear quite frequently in the writings of the Six Dynasties period (CE 220-581), although their usage was not standardized.

These terms also appear with the Siddham letters given in the Buddhist texts. In the case of earlier texts, these terms are additions made at some later date. A study of the Siddham letters in the Buddhist texts reveals that the term *chung* is used quite often with voiced aspirated consonants. As against this, the term *ch'ing* (light) is used with unaspirated consonants, but to a lesser extent.

The usage of these two terms, however, lacks consistency in Chinese texts. Shen Kua has mentioned the terms *ch'ing* (pure), *tz'u-ch'ing*, *cho*, and *pu-ch'ing-pu-cho* in his work *Meng-his-pi-t'an*. He has given examples from which the terms can be reconstructed as unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, voiced, and nasal respectively. In the rhyme dictionary *Yün-ching*, the terms *ch'ing* (pure), *tz'u-ch'ing*, *cho*, and *ch'ing-cho* have been used to mean the unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, voiced and nasal sounds respectively.

3.10. FOUR TONES

Tones are a basic feature in Chinese. There are four tones officially recognized in Chinese. They are *p'ing-sheng* (even tone), *shang-sheng* (rising tone), *ch'ü-sheng* (departing tone), and *ju-sheng* (entering tone). The Siddham phonetic ideas introduced into China in the wake of Buddhism perhaps played a major role in the identification of the phenomenon. *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, mentioned earlier, states that the science of phonetics started with the identification of four tones by Shen Yüeh (CE 441-513). The science slowly became thorough with the introduction of Siddham from India into China.[20] Shen Yüeh indeed took a leading part in advocating the theory of four

tones. He wrote a work entitled *Ssu-sheng p'u* dealing with the four tones in which he says that the existence of four tones was established by Chou Yung (died around CE 488). *Nan-ch'i shu*, the *History of Southern Ch'i Dynasty*, compiled by Hsiao Tzu-hsien (CE 489-537) says that Chou Yung excelled in the science of phonetics. He was also well versed in Buddhist theology.[21]

A modern Chinese cultural historian, Ch'en Yin-k'o, has proposed a hypothesis on identification of the four tones. Historically, all words ending in /*-p*/, /*-t*/, and /*-k*/ have just one tone, the entering tone. As against this, the words with nasal endings like /*-m*/, /*-n*/, and /*-ng*/, and with vocalic endings like /*-a*/, /*-i*/, and /*-au*/, and so on, belong to the other three tones. Ch'en Yin-k'o says that, of the four tones, the entering tone could be easily identified because words of this tone ended in /*-p*/, /*-t*/, and /*-k*/. The other three tones were distinguished on the basis of Sanskrit. Traditionally three *svara*s or pitch accents, *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita*, were involved in the recitation of the Vedas, and the Buddhists incorporated this feature in reciting the *sūtra*s. This way of reciting migrated to China along with Buddhism and monks used it in reciting the *sūtra*s. The three remaining tones were identified on the basis of these three *svara*s.[22]

3.11. CHARACTER BUNDLE *NIU*

Following the establishment of the four tones, the concept of *niu* was evolved to bundle, i.e. group the characters rationally. The characters thus bundled have the same initial and the same final. They belong to the same unvoiced, voiced, unaspirated or aspirated category. Three typical examples of character bundles are given in Table 2.[23] The tonal order here is even, rising, departing, and entering.

Table 2: Character bundles and their Siddham correspondences

kam	*kam*		*kam*	*kap*
gan	*gen*		*gan*	*gat*
dong	*dong*		*dong*	*dok*
pa	*pha*	*ba*	*bha*	*ma*
ta	*tha*	*da*	*dha*	*na*
ka	*kha*	*ga*	*gha*	*ṅīa*

In the above examples, the first three characters in each set have the same sound and the last one differs, ending in /*-p*/, /-*t*/, and /*-k*/ instead of /*-m*/, /*-n*/, and /*-ng*/ respectively. The apparent discrepancy can be explained easily from the arrangement of the Siddham letters. In Sanskrit, /*p-m*/, /*t-n*/, /*k-ṅ*/ are considered to be consonants of the same class because they originate from the same point of articulation. This correspondence was accepted, and retained ever since in Chinese.

4. Rhyme Dictionaries

4.1. RHYME DICTIONARIES

There are three broad stages in the development of lexicography in China. In the first stage dictionaries giving just the meanings of characters were prepared. *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* belongs to this category. *Yü-p'ien*, compiled in CE 543, initiated the second stage by adding readings to the characters. The readings were given in *fan-ch'ieh* spelling, and this became the standard practice in all the subsequent dictionaries. The third stage started with the compilation of the rhyme dictionary *Ch'ieh-yün* in CE 601. This was a specialized dictionary where all the characters were arranged under rhyme headings. This dictionary is lost, but *Ta-sung ch'ung-hsiu kuang-yün*, popularly known as *Kuang-yün*, published in CE 1007 is extant. *Kuang-yün* has 206 rhymes.

4.2. COMPOSITION OF *KUANG-YÜN*

4.2.1. *Rhymes*

Kuang-yün, which exists in complete form, provides a good view of the composition of rhyme dictionaries. In *Kuang-yün*, the rhymes are arranged under the four tones. The first two volumes of the dictionary are devoted to rhymes belonging to the even tone. The third volume lists the rising tone rhymes, and the fourth volume gives the departing or falling tone rhymes. The fifth and final volume covers the entering tone rhymes.

Each tone starts with a table of contents showing all the rhymes given there. The first two volumes give 57 rhymes belonging to the even tone. The third volume contains 55 rhymes sharing the rising tone. The fourth has 60 rhymes constituting the departing or falling tone, and the fifth consists of 34 rhymes belonging to the falling tone. All these rhymes added together make 206 rhymes in all.

A scrutiny of the order in which the 206 rhymes are distributed among the four tones reveals the cardinal role the concept of character bundles (*niu*) played in compiling the rhyme dictionaries. The rhymes can be divided into two types, one type ending in a vowel and the other type ending in a consonant. If the vowel-ending rhymes are skipped and the order in which the remaining consonant-ending rhymes appear in the dictionary is investigated, the role of the character bundle concept becomes very obvious. The first four rhymes listed under the four tones are: even tone /*-ung*/, rising tone /-*ung*/, departing tone /*-ung*/, and entering tone /*-uk*/. As has been discussed earlier, a character bundle consists of four characters of four tones with the same initial and the same final. The same final in this case also means that the end consonants belong to the same sound category. The end consonants in the four rhymes given above belong to the velar category. These four rhymes are, in effect, nothing but a character bundle minus the initials.

The first four rhymes seen above have /*-ng*/ and /*-k*/ as the end consonants. They are followed by other rhymes ending in /*-ng*/ and /*-k*/. After this, the rhymes ending in /*-n*/ and /*-t*/ appear, followed by the rhymes ending in /*-m*/ and /*-p*/. In short, the consonant ending rhymes in *Kuang-yün* appear in the order /*-ng*/~/*-k*/, /*-n*/~/*-t*/, and /*-m*/~/*-p*/. This is also the order in which the consonants appear in the Siddham *varṇamālā*, albeit with the positions of the oral and nasal consonants reversed.

4.2.2. *Small-rhymes*

It is stated above that the characters are arranged under 206 rhyme headings in *Kuang-yün*. There are 26,194 characters listed in *Kuang-yün*. Consequently, each rhyme, on an average, consists of more than one hundred characters. These characters are arranged in the rhyme scheme according to a system called *hsiao-yün* or 'small-rhyme'. Small-rhyme groups together the characters with identical pronunciation, i.e. identical IMVE/T of a rhyme. Thus, a small-rhyme gives the actual pronunciation of characters listed under it. Now, within a rhyme the MVE/T is common. So, a small-rhyme differs from another if the initial consonant differs. *Kuang-yün* lists 3,874 small-rhymes in all.

5. **Rhyme Tables**

5.1. SOUND TABLES — SHOU-WEN'S WORK

The rhyme dictionaries motivated the Chinese scholars to put the rhymes in the form of tables. Such tables were prepared to serve the purpose of a ready reckoner for knowing the readings of characters. The rhyme tables, along with the one devoted to the initial consonants, covered the entire sound system of the Chinese language. So they are popularly known as the Chinese sound tables. The rhyme tables are a direct offshoot of the rhyme dictionaries.

One of the earliest works that can be directly associated with the sound tables is that of Shou-wen, a monk who is

believed to have lived towards the end of the T'ang period (CE 618-907). Only three pages of his work, popularly known as *Shou-wen ts'an-chüan*, have been found. There are references to other sound tables like the one entitled *Hung-yün* prepared around this time by Buddhist monks, but they are now lost.[24]

The monk Shou-wen first gives the consonants, thirty in all, dividing them into five categories, labials, linguals, velars, dentals, and gutturals. There are four labial sounds, with the probable values */p/*, */pˈ/*, */bˈ/*, and */m/*. The linguals are divided into two groups. One has the probable values */t/*, */tˈ/*, */dˈ/*, and */n/*, and the other */t́/*, */t́ˈ/*, */d́ˈ/*, and */ń/*. The velars are given by six characters. One stands for */l/* which latter-day phoneticians established as a separate category, viz. semi-lingual. The probable values of the other five are */k*, */kˈ*, */gˈ/*, and */ng/*. One character is in excess here. The dentals are also divided into two groups, one with the three probable sounds: */ts/*, */tsˈ/*, and */dzˈ/*, and the other with four probable sounds, either */ṭs/*, */ṭsˈ/*, */ḍzˈ/*, */ṣ/* or */tś/*, */tśˈ/*, */dźˈ/*, */ ś/*. There are six guttural sounds divided into two groups, three unvoiced sounds: */s/*, */z/*, and / /, and three voiced sounds: / /, / ˈ/, and / ? /. Shou-wen divides the rhymes into four *teng* or divisions, and gives their examples under the four tone headings, viz. even tone, rising tone, departing tone, and entering tone.[25]

This framework of Shou-wen developed into the latter-day sound tables. The sound tables that have survived in complete form and come down to us were prepared during the Sung (CE 960-1279) and subsequent periods. One such work, the *Yün-ching*, will be discussed here.

5.2. *YṺN-CHING*

The sound tables of the *Yün-ching* basically deal with the sound values of characters for the period from around the sixth century to the tenth century. The author of the *Yün-ching* is not known. There are forty-four sound tables in *Yün-ching*. These forty-four tables accommodate the entire sound system of the Chinese language. The first table listing the initial consonants

appears in the introductory section. The remaining forty-three tables are devoted to the rhymes and constitute the main text of the work. All the rhyme tables have an identical set-up.

5.2.1. *Table of Initial Consonants*

Appendix 1 shows the table of consonants given in the introductory section of *Yün-ching*. It has 36 consonants. The phonetic values given below are based basically on the values proposed by Bernhard Karlgren.[26] The table is divided into six groups. The first group carries the heading *ch'un-yin* or labials. Then there are four sub-headings, *ch'ing*, *tz'u-ch'ing*, *cho*, and *ch'ing-cho*, meaning unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, voiced, and nasal respectively. It will be seen that the unvoiced sound has two forms, unaspirated and aspirated, whereas the voiced sound has only one form. It is generally assumed that it represents the voiced aspirated sound. The labial sounds */p/*, */p'/*, */b'/*, and */m/*. The second group carries the heading *she-yin* or linguals. The four sub-headings are the same as those mentioned above. The sounds are the dental consonants */t'/*,*/t'/*,*/d'/*, and */n'/*. The third group carries the heading *ya-yin* or velars. The same four sub-headings are given here, representing the consonants */k/*, */k'/*, */g'/*, and */ng/*. For lack of space, Appendix I shows these three groups only.

5.2.2. *Rhyme Tables — Their Composition*

5.2.2.1. ***Initial Consonants***

Yün-ching contains forty-three rhyme tables in all. Each rhyme table carries on the top the initial consonants given in the above section. The consonants are given by their phonetic headings, viz. labial, lingual, velar, dental, guttural, and lingual/dental, along with their unvoiced, voiced, unaspirated, aspirated, and nasal sub-headings. Appendix II shows the Rhyme Table 1 of *Yün-ching*. Only the portion related to the above three groups, viz. labial, lingual and velar is shown here.

5.2.2.2. ***Tones***

As shown in Rhyme Table 1, the rhyme tables are divided into four broad rows, each row assigned to a tone, even, rising, departing, and entering. In arranging rhymes in the four tones, the end consonant E of the final MVE constitutes an important criterion. Some Chinese characters do not have end consonants, for instance, the character *ta* (big). The rhyme tables accommodating such characters have only three tones, even, rising, and departing. There are no entering tone row entries in these tables. The end consonant comes in three categories, velar /*-ng*/ and /*-k*/, lingual /*-n*/ and /*-t*/, and labial /*-m*/ and /*-p*/. In these pairs, the first is nasal and the second is oral. Rhymes accommodating these characters have entries in all the four tones. Here, the even, rising, and departing tones have nasal endings, and the entering tone has oral endings.

5.2.2.3. ***Small Rhymes***

It has been stated above that there are 3,874 small-rhymes in *Kuang-yün*, which are distributed among the 206 rhymes. The rhyme tables of *Yün-ching* are based almost entirely on these small rhymes. Since the *Yün-ching* tables contain about 3,790 characters, almost all the small rhymes of *Kuang-yün* are given here. However, there are some entries in *Yün-ching* that are not present in *Kuang-yün*. This is perhaps due to the changes that took place in the language during the period between *Kuang-yün* and *Yün-ching*.

5.2.2.4. ***Reading the Rhyme Table***

The tables of *Yün-ching* are designed in the form of a grid. The point where the vertical axis meets the horizontal axis gives the actual reading at that point. For instance, in the case of the first entry from right in the top row of the Rhyme Table 1, the vertical column says that the initial consonant is a labial voiced sound. So its phonetic value is /*b*'-/. The horizontal row gives the rhyme as /*-ung*/. So the reading of this character is *b'ung*. Similarly, in the case of the last character in the first column

from the right, the initial consonant is labial unvoiced. So it is /*p*/. Similarly, the rhyme is /*uk*/. So, its reading is *puk.*

6. Current Status of Sanskrit Phonetics

One may be interested to know about the current status of the Chinese adaptation of Sanskrit phonetics discussed above. It is very much alive and in use today. For instance, the Chinese have devised a phonetic script for the initial consonants and the rhymes discussed above about one hundred years back. As will be seen in Appendix III, the first year primary school students start their education with this script. It is also used in dictionaries of Chinese characters to give the phonetic readings of the characters.

7. Prosody

There is a genre of Chinese poems, Recent Style Poetry (*Chin-t'i-shi* 近體詩), also known as Regulated Verse (*Lu-shih* 律詩), that was conceived by Shen Yüeh 沈約 (CE 441-513), a leading intellectual of his time, and his followers. It became an obligatory part in the civil services examination during the T'ang 唐 dynasty (CE 618-907), and is popular even today. Shen Yüeh introduced new rules for this genre of poems that were totally alien to the contemporary Chinese prosody. The question is, where did Shen Yüeh get his idea from? One of the rules will be seen here, that will shed light on the source of Shen Yüeh's inspiration.

One rule Shen Yüeh proposed for his new genre of poems involves poetic defect (*ping* 病). He proposed that there were eight defects (*pa-ping* 八病) that should be avoided in the New Style Poetry.

One such defect is Level Head (*p'ing-t'ou* 平頭), where the first and the sixth syllables in a pentasyllabic verse should not be in the same tone.[27] Since there are only five syllables or characters in a line, it means that the first syllable in two successive lines should not have the same tone.

In *Nāñyaśāstra*, Bharata defines the *pādādi* (beginning of a foot) *yamaka* as the case where a similar word or syllable occurs at the beginning of two successive feet.[28]

This strongly suggests that *yamaka* of Sanskrit prosody was a source of Shen Yüeh's inspiration. Shen Yüeh lived and worked in what is present-day Nanking. It was a centre of Buddhist activities, with a large concentration of monks from India and Central Asia. The environment was ripe for Shen Yüeh to experiment with his new genre of poetry.

8. Conclusion

The Sanskrit language failed to take root in China despite around 1,000 years of translation activities. One of the reasons is that nobody dared to write the grammar of the language for the Chinese. Attempts to write on grammar ended up in coining of grammatical terms that were totally unintelligible to the Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, accepted Sanskrit phonetics because it provided them with the crucial know-how to evolve a system to express the sounds of the characters phonetically. The Chinese literati needed such a system badly for assigning a standard reading to the characters. They required this for, among other things, appreciating their poems that constituted one of the major intellectual activities of all ages.

Appendix I
Initial Consonants of *Yün-ching*

Appendix II
Rhyme Table 1 of *Yün-ching*

內轉第一開

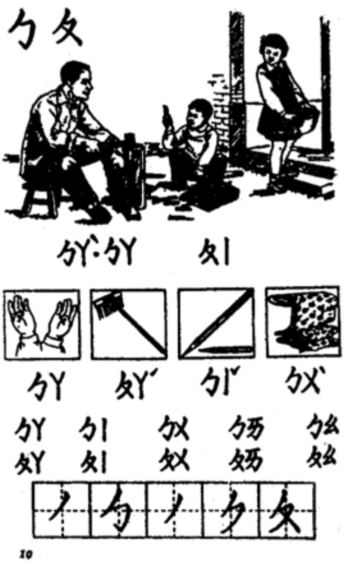
Velar 牙音				Lingual 舌音				Labial 脣音			
Nasal	Voiced	Unvoiced aspirated	Unvoiced unaspirated	Nasal	Voiced	Unvoiced aspirated	Unvoiced unaspirated	Nasal	Voiced	Unvoiced aspirated	Unvoiced unaspirated
清濁	濁	次清	清	清濁	濁	次清	清	清濁	濁	次清	清
㟋		空	公		同	通	東	蒙	蓬		
豣	窮	穹	弓		蟲	忡	中	瞢	馮	豐	風
		孔		𤢂	動	桶	董	蠓	菶		琫
					(Dental)						
		控	貢	齈	洞	痛	凍	夢	㨦		
		焪			仲		中	幪	鳳	賵	諷
		哭	穀		獨	秃	㲉	木	暴	扑	卜
砡	驧	麴	菊	朒	逐	蓄	竹	目	伏	蝮	福
ng	g′ (or g)	k′	k	n	d′ (or d)	t′	t	m	b′ (or b)	p′	p

Appendix III
Current Status of Chinese Adaptation of Some Sanskrit Phonetics

Primary school textbook

Phonetic script devised for initial consonants and rhymes

/p//ph/



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12. Mokṣala, *Fang-kuang po-jo-ching*, Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, V. 8, p. 26.

13. Annen, *Shittanzō*, Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, V. 84, pp. 409M-410T.

14. Annen, p. 432M.

    This statement means that in Siddham, letters are derived from sound, and in Chinese, sounds are derived from characters.

15. Annen, p. 409B.

16. Shen Kua, *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, Umehara, Kaoru, tr., *Mukei Hitsudan*, V. 2, Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1989, p. 107.

17. Annen, *shittanzō*, p. 409B; *Hsi-t'an-tzu-chi*, p. 1188T.

18. Van Gullik, pp. 43-44.

19. A problem in Chinese is the homonyms. Here, *ch'ing* (light) usually meaning unaspirated, and *ch'ing* (pure) usually meaning unvoiced are homonyms. They are easily differentiated when the characters are given. Here, "light" and "pure," the literal meanings of the characters, is added to differentiate them.

20. Shen Kua, p. 89; Van Gulik, p. 42.

21. Konishi, p. 421.

22. Konishi, pp. 459, 422-23; Yasuda, Jiro, "The Changing Aristocratic Society of the Southern Dynasties and Regional Society: Particularly the Hsiang-yang Region," *Acta Asiatica,* Tokyo, Toho Gakkai, V. 60, 1991, p. 50.

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27. Mair, Victor H. & Tsu-lin Mei, "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, V. 51, No. 2, December 1991, p. 462; Kūkai 空海, Bunkyō Hifuron 文鏡秘府論, Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏, tr., *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集, V. 5, Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo, 1986, p. 580.

28. Bharata, *The Nāñyaśāstra of Bharatamuni*, tr. A Board of Scholars, Sri Satguru Publications, India Book Centre, Delhi, 2000, p. 248.

Chinese characters of the Chinese expressions used in the text

[A] Annen 安然 [B] *b'ung* 蓬 *Bunkyō Hifuronkō* 文鏡秘府論考 [C] Ch'ang-an 長安 Chang Heng 張衡 Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪 *ch'ieh* 切 *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 *chih* 徵 Chih-kuang 智廣 *ch'ih-sheng* 歯聲 *ch'ing* 輕 (light) *ch'ing* 清 (pure) *ch'ing* 輕 (light) *ch'ing-cho* 清濁 *ch'i-yeh-shih* 持業釋 *Ch'i-yin-lüeh* 七音略 *cho* 濁 Chou Yung 周顒 *chuan* 囀 *chüeh* 角 *chung* 重 Chih-kuang 智廣 *Chūgokugo Oninron* 中国語音韻論 Chūgoku Koten Bungaku Taikei 中国古典文学大 *ch'un-sheng* 唇聲 *ch'un-yin* 脣音 *Ch'u-san-ts'ang-chi-chi* 出三藏記集 *ch'ü-sheng* 去聲 [D] Daihachishū Shuppan Co. Ltd. 第八洲出版 *Daijionji Sanzōhōshiden* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社 [F] Fa-Hien 法顯 *fan* 反 *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 *Fang-kuang-po-jo-ching* 放光般若經 Fa-tsang 法藏 Fa-Hien 法顯, *Fang-kuang po-jo-ching* 放光般若經 Fa-tsang 法藏 *fei-nan-fei-nü-sheng* 非男非女聲 [G] *Ganshi Kakun* 顔氏家訓 [H] Heibonsha 平凡 *hou-sheng* 喉聲 *hsiang-wei-shih* 相違釋 Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顕 *hsiao-yün* 小韻 Hsi-ching-fu 西京賦 Hsieh Ling-yün 謝霊運 *Hsi-t'an-tzu-chi* 悉曇字記 Hiuen-tsang 玄奘 *Hua-yen-ching-t'an-hsüan-chi hu-chao Hui-li hung Hung-yün* [I] I-ching 義淨 *i-chu-shih* 依主釋 *Inkyō no Kenkū* 韻鏡の研究 Inkyō Kenkūkai 韻鏡の研究会 [J] *jih* 日 *ju-sheng* 入聲 [K] *Kegongyō Tangenki* 華嚴經探玄記 Kokuyaku Issaikyō 國譯一切經 Konishi, Jinichi 小西甚一 Kōseikan 光生館 Kyōsobu 經疏部 *kuan* 官 *Kuang-yün* 廣韻 *kung* 宮 [L] *lin-chin-shih* 隣近釋 [M] *Meng-hsi pi-t'an* 夢渓筆談 Misawa, Junjirō 三沢諄治郎 Mokṣala 無羅叉 *mu* 母 *Mukei Hitsudan* 夢渓筆談 [N] *Nan-ch'i shu* 南斉書 *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chuan* 南海寄歸内法傳 *nan-sheng* 男聲 *neng-tso* 能作 *niu* 紐 *nü-sheng* 女聲 [P] *pan-ch'ih-sheng* 半歯聲 *pan-she-sheng* *p'ing-sheng* 平聲 *pu-ch'ing-pu-cho* 不清不濁 [S] Sakamoto, Sachio 坂本幸男 Seng-yu 僧祐 Shen Kua 沈括 *shang* 商 *shang-sheng* 上聲 *sheng-shen* 聲身 *sheng* 聲 Shen Kua 沈括 *she-sheng* 舌聲 *shih* 實 Shidenbu 史傳部 *Shittanzō* 悉曇藏 Shou-wen 守温 *Shou-wen* 説文 *Shou-wen-chieh-tzu*

說文解字 *Shou-wen ts'an-chüan* 守温殘巻 *shuo-erh* 說二 *shuo-i* 說一 *shuo-to* 說多 *so-i* 所依 *so-shu* 所属 *so-tso-yeh* 所作業 *so-wei* 所爲 *so-yin* 所因 *Ssu-sheng p'u* 四聲譜 Sun Yen 孫炎 [T] *ta* 大 Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經 *tai-shu-shih* 帯数釋 Takada, Shū 高田修 *Ta-pan-ni-yüan-ching* 大般泥疑經 *Ta-sung ch'ung-hsiu kuang-yün* 大宋重修廣韻 *Ta-tz'u-en-ssu-san-tsang-fa-shih-chuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 *te* 德 *teng* 等 *t'i* 體 Tōdō, Akiyasu 藤堂明保 *to-sheng-shen* 多聲身 *tso-chü* 作具 *tu-jo* 讀若 *tung* 東 *T'ung-chih* 通志 *tzu* 子 *tz'u-ch'ing* 次清 [U] Umehara, Kaoru 梅原郁 Utsunomiya, Kiyoshi 宇都宮清吉 [W] Wakan Senjutsubu 和漢選述部 Wu-ch'en 無讖 Wu-lo-ch'a 無羅叉 *wu-yin* 五音 [Y] *ya-sheng* 牙聲 Yen Chih-t'ui 顔之推 *Yen-shih chia-hsün* 顔氏家訓 Yen-ts'ung 彦茴 *yü* 羽 *Yün-ching* 韻鏡 *Yü-p'ien* 玉篇 *yu-ts'ai-shih* 有財釋

Table 2: Character bundles and their Siddham correspondences

[illegible] *kam*	[illegible] *kam*	[illegible] *kam*	[illegible] *kap*
[illegible] *gan*	[illegible] *gen*	[illegible] *gan*	[illegible] *gat*
[illegible] *dong*	[illegible] *dong*	[illegible] *dong*	[illegible] *dok*

Sanskrit Studies in France

Nalini Balbir & Nicolas Dejenne

Some of the previous World Sanskrit Conferences have been accompanied by the publication of reports on Sanskrit studies outside India. For some strange reason, no contribution on France appeared in the first attempt, Volume I – Part II *Sanskrit and Indology in Centres outside India* ed. V. Raghavan (Delhi, 1979), following the first WSC held in Delhi in 1972. Jean Filliozat's contributions (IVth WSC Weimar, 1979 and Vth WSC, Varanasi, 1981) are in the form of a list of publications for the years in focus (1977-79 and 1979-81). Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat's essay, published on the occasion of the Xth WSC, Bangalore, gives a somewhat impressionistic picture and provides very few bibliographical references (1997; below References Section 1). Hence, the present context seems to offer a good opportunity to give an overview of the situation and evolution of Sanskrit studies in France in the last 60 years. If exhaustiveness is of course impossible, it is hoped that, in spite of unavoidable omissions, this survey and the appended bibliography may be taken as a reliable presentation of the institutional growth and of the diversity of achievements in Sanskrit studies in France over this period. Besides direct knowledge we have of the discipline and of its history, we rely upon several informative updates that were published along the past 60 years by French scholars and deal with shorter periods or with specific fields of Sanskrit studies (listed below in References section 1).

In 1950, when the period covered by this survey begins, the state of Sanskrit studies in France was essentially the following. Jules Bloch (1880-1953), the linguist of Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian), who was a trailblazer for studies in the development of classical languages other than Sanskrit, i.e. Middle Indo-Aryan languages and the history of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistics, was at the end of his career. So was Alfred Foucher (1865-1952), mainly an archaeologist but also a

Buddhologist who was fully aware of the interest to cooperate with Indian scholars for a genuine understanding of Indian traditions. Sanskrit studies were thriving at the Institut de Civilisation Indienne (created in 1928), which was a part of the Université de Paris, the Sorbonne. The continuity with the earlier tradition of Sanskrit studies as embodied by Sylvain Lévi (1863-1935) was illustrated by the central position of Louis Renou (1896-1966), who, as the Sanskrit Professor at the Sorbonne and as a towering scholar of international repute, was to make Sanskrit studies shine brightly until his sudden death in 1966. All of those who later occupied positions in classical Indian studies in France had studied with him, numerous were the young scholars who came from abroad because of him. The Kyoto school of Sanskrit studies can be said, to some extent, to have been born from the close cooperation between Louis Renou and Yutaka Ojihara (1922-91), which produced in particular the volumes of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* they published together (1960, 1962, 1969). During the 1970s, young Japanese scholars, illustrating various fields of Sanskrit studies, continued to come to Paris for their PhD, which they published in French (Buddhist philology: Mimaki 1976; Nakatani 1988; Vyākaraṇa: Yagi, 1984, all in PICI).

Years around 1950 can be considered as a foundational period for Sanskrit studies in the second part of the twentieth century under the leadership of Renou. It materializes in the publication in 1947 and 1953 of *L'Inde classique. Manuel des études indiennes*. This vast survey, which has remained a reference of international level to date, was initiated and supervised by major figures who have deeply marked Sanskrit studies in France and have paved the way for generations to come through their own works, through the structures they have created or through the individuals they have encouraged: Louis Renou, along with Jean Filliozat 1906-82 and Olivier Lacombe (1904-2001). This *trimūrti* has embodied several fundamental areas of Sanskrit studies which became prominent in France during the past 60 years: Vedic studies, Vyākaraṇa, classical literature, philosophy, Āyurveda and Yoga are among the main ones. Renou, and even more Jules Bloch, have also played a

decisive role in the development of two areas in classical Indian studies which were new in France: Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics and philology as well as Jaina studies, which came to the foreground through the central scientific and institutional role played by Colette Caillat (1921-2007). In their own way, Buddhist studies expanded through the work of André Bareau 1921-93. These fields of research were always, and still are, represented by scholars well-trained and versed in Sanskrit, and thus fall within the scope of this presentation.

We do not restrict our presentation of Sanskrit studies in France to French nationals. A number of foreign scholars have settled in France, worked in French institutions and have often published the results of their studies in French. Besides scientific motivations, other incentives could have had some weight on their choice. Some of them came from Eastern Europe for political reasons and found both a shelter and an academic position in France (Arion Roşu from Romania, Boris Oguibénine from Russia, and for a shorter period Ludwik Sternbach from Poland). Doctoral students and young scholars came either from the French-speaking world (Belgium, Canada) or from elsewhere (Japan and Italy in particular), attracted by the prestige of French Sanskritists like Louis Renou or Madeleine Biardeau (1922-2010). Since the end of the 1990s, in keeping with the global trend current in the academic field worldwide, a few foreign Sanskritists have been appointed in French Indological institutions. Moreover, there has been or there is in French academic institutions a handful of Sanskrit scholars from India or of Indian origin. Students of Indian origin are attracted to these studies from time to time, but France does not find itself in the same situation as the UK or USA where a growing number of Indian-born students join Indology courses and graduate in this domain.

As far as academic training is concerned, and in contrast with what often happens in the United States, for instance, French Sanskritists do not come from religious studies, a field which does not feature as such among university curricula in France. A large majority of them had a high-level training in Classical Humanities (Latin and Greek) and often started their

careers as teachers of this subject in secondary schools or at university level after having successfully passed highly selective national level examinations. This is still the case today, although probably in a less significant proportion. Philosophy and history are the other main fundamental disciplines which form the background of Sanskritists. A minority comes from sciences or from various professions, and a few have no university training in the Western sense of the term.

In keeping with our understanding of Sanskrit scholarship we emphasize the role played by institutional Indology as evidenced in specialized teaching and research institutions in the development of the field. In addition it must eventually be borne in mind that, like in several countries, a few Sanskrit scholars have been working as librarians, museum curators or as freelance individuals and have contributed to the development of research independently. For the history of the complex relationship in France between academic Indology and 'non-academicians' publishing in the field, we refer the reader to Lardinois 2007. There have been controversial figures who were rather well known outside France but were not considered as scientific Indologists in France itself (e.g. A. Daniélou).

For Sanskritists of the first half of the twentieth century it was natural to use French as their scientific language. When studies originally written in French were made available in English, they were the results of translations done by persons other than the authors. This continues to be so in special cases. But the use of English has increased, in keeping with the growing internationalization that marked the last decades. It is now usual to have English summaries appended to articles or books. To some extent, French Sanskritists resist and keep French as a significant scientific language for classical Indology by publishing monographs in their native language. But, in order to give more exposure to their contribution to the progress of knowledge, French Sanskritists are often led to deliver their papers in conferences or publish their articles directly in English. In a global context where the knowledge of French language tends to decline, this is a difficult balance to strike.

ACADEMIC STRUCTURES

So far, Sanskrit studies in France have been rooted in public institutions financed by the State, not in private institutions financed through donations like it happens more and more in the English-speaking world. Those who have been appointed in teaching or research institutions are civil servants who hold permanent posts. Lifelong research positions are a French specificity. Those who are employed in teaching institutions are expected to teach and do research with the status of "enseignant-chercheur". Others (the "chercheurs") are appointed only for research in the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research founded just after Second World War) and in the EFEO (French School of Far Eastern Studies founded in 1900), and may teach occasionally. Until now, additional resources for research have been allocated through institutional research teams financed by the State. But academics are now more and more expected to apply for and depend on external funds for short-term projects. This bent might have an influence on the evolution of research and on the choice of topics, tending to relegate Sanskrit and philological studies in the background compared to modern concerns and social sciences.

Institutional framework

Teaching of Sanskrit: Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle and other universities

Sanskrit is taught at several French universities but nowhere is there anything called "Department of Sanskrit". Sanskrit is a subject embedded in larger structural units, the names of which depend on historical circumstances and situations specific to the given universities (linguistics, ancient languages, oriental languages, etc.). None of them, however, is a department of religious studies, a concept which is rather alien to the French universities. Courses in Indian religions are generally taught through the study of texts in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛt. Today as in the past, training in classical languages and Indo-European linguistics is often the path leading to Sanskrit learning. In Sanskrit studies the number of students cannot be

very high, given the limited professional prospect, but they are generally seriously dedicated to the learning. Besides universities and research institutions, museums and libraries are possible places for employment.

In the current institutional situation in Paris, modern and classical Indian studies are carried out in separate centres. Yet, as will be seen, there are overlaps. Most of the enlightened Sanskritists have been convinced that there is an unbroken continuity of the Indian tradition that makes this separation rather artificial, and even if they focus on classical studies, they do not ignore further developments.

French specificities also explain that one person can teach simultaneously courses which are differently oriented in different institutions, for example, both at a university and at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

Sorbonne University in Paris, Strasbourg and Lyon universities were the oldest centres for Sanskrit studies from the nineteenth century onwards. After the restructuration of French universities in 1968-70 which resulted into a split of what was so far a single university into separate universities in the same city, the Sorbonne, Université de Paris, no longer existed as an academic unit but was divided into several different universities, each with a name and a number. There was a similar situation in Strasbourg and Lyon. Universities of Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Strasbourg-2 and Lyon-3 were those where Sanskrit was taught with varying scopes, either in an independent curriculum (Paris-3) or subordinated to classical languages and Indo-European linguistics. At Paris-3, generations of Sanskritists, whether they specialized in the field or not, were trained by Armand Minard (1906-98), a scholar of comparative Indo-European grammar and Vedic, whose impact as a professor left a lasting mark on those who heard him, and by Colette Caillat, as well as by Anne-Marie Esnoul (1908-96) who was in charge of beginners.

Moreover, Indian philosophy and Indian art were the main focus of attention at the University of Paris-4 Sorbonne, and an elementary teaching of Sanskrit and Indian classical culture

was also open to students of ethnology and other disciplines at Paris-10 Nanterre. Outside Paris, new positions were created in Aix-Marseille, Lille, Bordeaux and Toulouse in the 1970s, but they have developed unequally. For all institutional details on the period before 2010 we refer to the Appendix below.

In 2010, the **University of Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle** is the only French university which offers a full curriculum of Sanskrit studies and has a full teaching staff of two professors (Nalini Balbir, J. Fezas), two lecturers (M.-L. Barazer-Billoret, N. Dejenne) and a guest professor for Vedic studies (G.-J. Pinault). Further, following an agreement between the Indian Council for Cultural Research (ICCR) and this university (1985), there is a post for an Indian visiting professor with a turnover every 2-3 years (at present, Gopabandhu Mishra from Banaras Hindu University). Whatever their main area of research, all the members of the Paris-3 staff have sound knowledge of Sanskrit and can use Sanskrit sources first-hand (it was not always the case as there have been two periods when art history was taught by professors having no linguistic background). The curriculum takes students of Sanskrit from the start and leads them up to PhD through a diversified teaching programme focussing on Sanskrit grammar, text reading and translation of Sanskrit literature, initiation into Vedic Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan languages and Hindi, spoken Sanskrit, teaching of Indian religions, history, art and iconography, history of Indology. Courses for advanced students are meant to open them to other areas, sometimes on demand, or relate to the specializations of the Professors: Middle Indo-Aryan literatures and manuscripts, Jaina studies (N. Balbir), Dharmaśāstra literature (J. Fezas). Most French Sanskrit scholars who have occupied academic positions in France in the last 40 years have got their PhD and DLitt. from this university.

At the **University of Paris-4 Sorbonne**, the main areas of Indological teaching are classical art (E. Parlier-Renault, K. Ladrech) and comparative philosophy (F. Chenet) which are optional teachings in larger programmes for Art and Philosophy and, to some extent, imply recourse to Sanskrit language (taught at a beginners' level) and Sanskrit sources. On

the other hand, there is no more Sanskrit teaching in **Paris-10 Nanterre**.

Outside Paris, the teaching is done single-handedly by a professor or a lecturer. The main focus is the teaching of classical Sanskrit whereas advanced courses depend on the respective specializations of those who teach. The **Strasbourg** professorship of Indian studies has now been suppressed after its last occupant (B. Oguibénine) retired. This is a significant loss on the map of Sanskrit studies as this chair had a special prestige, acquired during the period from its creation in 1872 (Strasbourg was then a part of Germany) up to S. Lévi's professorship at the end of First World War when Strasbourg was won over by France. In 2010, there remain of all this only two persons who teach comparative religion and cannot be called Sanskritists.

Sanskrit teaching is actively done at the **University of Lyon-3** (Ch. Chojnacki). In addition, the teaching of Sanskrit that had been established at **Lille-3** and **Aix-Marseille-I** continues to date (with, respectively, J. Törzsök and S. Brocquet). The emergence of young PhD students from universities outside Paris specializing in various branches of Sanskrit studies is a notable feature in recent years, and a consequence of the diversity of specializations of the academic staff (Jaina studies for Ch. Chojnacki, Sanskrit epigraphy and poetics for S. Brocquet). It is the best way to guarantee that Sanskrit studies in their diversity will be pursued by the next generation as well.

In **Toulouse**, a lecturer in comparative grammar and Sanskrit (Y. Codet) provides an elementary teaching in the language. Occasional instruction in Sanskrit had been available at the University of **Bordeaux-3**, but depended on the goodwill of individuals only. Unfortunately, attempts to establish a permanent position have been unsuccessful and, to the best of our knowledge, Sanskrit is no longer taught there.

Other teaching institutions

Further, in Paris, besides the universities proper, there are two other academic teaching institutions where Sanskrit has been

at home since long. The **École Pratique des Hautes Etudes** (EPHE, created in 1868) was conceived as an institute for advanced teaching running parallel to the university and meant for graduate students. Today it offers MA and PhD courses and more and more PhD students in classical Indian studies graduate there as well. EPHE is divided into two sections: "Religious studies" and "Historical and Philological studies". As far as Sanskrit studies are concerned, it is more specialized than the universities and does not offer a systematic syllabus from the start. The teaching staff ("Directeurs d'études") has a position similar to that of a professor. The teachings are generally intimately connected with the research areas of those who teach. In recent years, they have related to Vedas, Vyākaraṇa and Āyurveda (J. E.M. Houben), Kashmir Śaivism (L. Bansat-Boudon), the Darśanas (G. Gerschheimer), Middle-Indian philology (N. Balbir), Indo-Iranian and Buddhist traditions of Central Asia (G.-J. Pinault), Buddhist Sanskrit and Tibetan traditions (C. Scherrer-Schaub) and Medieval Indian traditions (F. Delvoye). Summaries or detailed reports of the annual teaching are available in the *Annuaire* published every year by both sections of the EPHE. They form a useful resource, which is now published also on line (revues.org).

The **Collège de France**, a teaching institution of free access where the topics of teaching are decided by the professors without constraint and where no diploma is delivered, also publishes a yearly *Annuaire*. Dating back to 1530, it is a prestigious and typically French academic establishment. It was here in 1814 that the first Sanskrit chair in continental Europe was created (for Antoine-Léonard de Chézy). During the period of time within the scope of this presentation, the Indological chair underwent shifts in its contents, to some extent reflecting a more general evolution in the studies and the type of interest for India favoured by French institutions: from "Langue et littérature sanskrites" with J. Bloch, it became "Langues et littératures de l'Inde" with J. Filliozat (see below Appendix for details). A significant turn, which was sometimes understood as a step back, occurred in 1983 when the Sanskrit chair was

redefined as “Histoire du monde indien” (G. Fussman). This marked a shift, as Sanskrit language and literatures proper were no longer the main focus of attention. On the other hand, the chair “Langues et religions indo-iraniennes” (held by J. Kellens since 1993) deals, in fact, with Avestan studies. This year (2011) will see G. Fussman’s retirement. Chairs in the Collège de France are not necessarily filled without change and can go to other subjects after the retirement of their occupants. For instance, the chair “Etude du bouddhisme” which had been occupied by André Bareau simply disappeared after his retirement in 1991. It was partly covered by Fussman’s teaching, which, in fact, largely related to the history of Buddhism at the boundaries of India.

Another institution is the **École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales** (EHESS). As the name indicates, it is concerned with social sciences, mainly anthropology. Nevertheless, a few seminars given by regular lecturers are devoted to aspects of Sanskrit intellectual traditions, like Vyākaraṇa, Āyurveda, Jyotiṣa, etc. (P. Haag, F. Zimmermann, C. Guenzi).

At the **Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales** (INaLCO) — the oldest French orientalist teaching institution, born in 1795 — the teachings relating to South Asia are devoted to modern South Asian languages and cultures, with an introduction to Sanskrit (Ph. Benoît).

Research teams

Besides their academic affiliation in a teaching or research institution, French Indologists have been grouped since the 1960s in research teams, the names and scopes of which have changed several times. Today two such research teams gathering both “chercheurs” and “enseignants-chercheurs” are directly concerned with the study of India and the Indianized world: the “Mondes Iranien et Indien” (MII), with scholars from Sorbonne Nouvelle, EPHE, CNRS and INaLCO, and the “Centre d’Etudes de l’Inde et de l’Asie du Sud” (CEIAS), with scholars from EHESS and CNRS.

The "Mondes Iranien et Indien" has been working in its current form since 2005 but most Indologists from this team were previously grouped under the labels "Philologie bouddhique et jaina" (from its creation in 1967 around C. Caillat to 1982), then "Langues, Textes, Histoire et Civilisation du Monde Indien" LACMI (1982-2004). Most of its researchers study classical India on the basis of a direct analysis of primary sources in Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages. Its main directions of research are: Indian religious traditions (Vedic, Śaiva, Buddhist, Jaina), classical Indian philology and Sanskrit grammar, Sanskrit literature, manuscriptology (International Conference "Lecteurs et copistes", Paris 2010), but also history of art in South and South-East Asia and history of Indian studies in Europe.

The CEIAS has had a stronger bent towards the study of modern and contemporary South Asian history, society and culture since its creation around the great sociologist Louis Dumont, M. Biardeau and R. Lingat in the middle of the 1950s according to a global anthropological vision of Brāhmanical India based on sources of all kinds. This team has always counted among its members some Sanskrit scholars (the late M. Biardeau; Ch. Malamoud, B. Oguibénine, L. Bansat-Boudon, G. Colas, P. Haag).

In some respect, the distribution of French Indologists between these two Indological research teams mirrors a rather marked division between "classical Indologists" and "social scientists on India".

In addition to these Indological research teams, some Sanskritists work as "chercheurs" in research teams of the CNRS which are defined by their disciplinary field: history and epistemology of linguistics (linguist and grammarian E. Aussant in team "Histoire des théories linguistiques" HTL), cultures of the Ancient world (Vedic specialist S. D'Intino in "Anthropologie et Histoire des Mondes Anciens" ANHIMA), history of sciences (mathematician A. Keller in "Recherches Epistémologiques et Historiques sur les Sciences Exactes et les Institutions Scientifiques" REHSEIS). This is a developing trend

for the new appointments. The presence of these "isolated" Sanskrit scholars in very diverse research groups is important to ascertain that Indian specific outlooks in various fields of human thought are taken into account and confronted to the other intellectual traditions of the world.

An outcome of the organization in teams was the regular holding at a national or international level of conferences oriented towards a multi-sided approach of a common topic with precedence given to classical Indian sources and focus on philology. This was done, in particular, within LACMI. From 1994 to 2009, volumes of collected essays on literary genres, on the concept of norm, on the Indian conceptions of the stages of life, on the terminology, the attitudes and the iconographic representations of animals in the Indian world, and on sleep and dream were published at a regular pace. Other volumes of a similar type were published occasionally by other research groups (ed. Padoux 1990, Colas & Gerschheimer 2009; see References section 3).

More and more often French Sanskritists are involved in international academic cooperation, especially between European countries. Until recently, this was done rather informally, at an individual or small unit level. Many of us have worked together with their European colleagues for specific projects and publications in the last 60 years. Among recent and ongoing research programs, we may mention a few: a series of International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposia (the first one in 2007) co-organized by the French INRIA (Institut national de Recherche en Informatique et Automatique), the University of Hyderabad and Brown University; the publication in Vienna of the first volumes of the *Tantrikābhidhānakośa* (successively co-edited by H. Brunner, A. Padoux and D. Goodall). Bilateral Indo-French cooperation has obviously often taken place with the two French research centres of Pondicherry (see below) but has also relied on regular exchanges of scholars under the auspices of the French "Maison des Sciences de l'Homme" and of the Indian official bodies supervising human and social sciences (however, these exchanges have more often involved social scientists than

Sanskritists). The increasing concern of the Jaina diaspora in USA and UK for the transmission and dissemination of its own cultural heritage is at the start of various projects, some of which imply cataloguing and digitizing manuscripts in the languages the Jainas have used (Balbir).

French research institutions in India

The Indian territories that the French had possessed during the colonial period were finally returned to India by a treaty signed in 1954; a remarkable article of this treaty, which owed much to the foresight of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, stipulated the creation of a French research institute in Pondicherry aimed at strengthening the intellectual relations between the two countries. At its opening in 1955, the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP), which was placed under the authority of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, consisted of a Scientific section (devoted mainly to ecology studies) and of an Indological one whose field was the study of any aspect of Indian civilization based on the analysis of primary sources, whether textual, iconographic or ethnological. The creation of the IFP, as well as a research centre of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) also situated in Pondicherry and another one in Pune, was clearly a landmark institutional date for Sanskrit studies in France and owed much to the action of Jean Filliozat. It enabled for the first time French scholars and *paṇḍit*s imbibed with the best intellectual traditions of south India, to work in the long run on the edition, translation and analysis of Tamil and Sanskrit classical texts. Leaving aside here the Tamil studies (which have also made an impact in their own right), the two main areas of research have been since 1955 the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition of south India, or Āgamic Śaivism, through studies of numerous Āgamas and Tantras, and the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition of Vyākaraṇa. Apart from the French research staff appointed in Pondicherry where some scholars could stay and work for decades, a great number of French researchers, from doctoral students and long-term research fellows to senior ones, could benefit from the knowledge of stalwarts such as N.R. Bhatt (member of the EFEO

from 1956 to his retirement in 1991) in the field of Āgamas, M.S. Narasimhacharya (an eminent specialist of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*) in Vyākaraṇa, or N.S. Ramanuja Tatacharya, one of the very rare *paṇḍit*s mastering several Śāstras, author of a recent comprehensive work on Indian theories of verbal cognition (Tatacharya 2005-08). Whether it is for ritual questions or for Śāstric studies, this collaboration has proved invaluable, and it is not exaggerated to say that a majority of French Sanskritists or specialists of classical India have come to work in Pondicherry at some time or the other of their Indological path. Many of them have also published their work in the Indological collection, probably best known under the appellation "Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie" (see below for more details).

Other academic structures

France has a number of significant libraries that contain valuable materials for the study of Sanskrit.

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has a collection of some 1500 Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛt manuscripts which were acquired since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although in a less significant manner than German and English libraries, it benefited from the nineteenth century movement which brought Sanskrit manuscripts from India in increasing numbers. Several catalogues have been published and are now available online (gallica.bnf.fr/ark/), but more remains to be done. Had appointments of librarians who were Sanskrit scholars been made systematically over the years, and not with interruptions as it was the case (J. Filliozat, G. Colas), this work would probably be finished by now. Acquisitions of manuscripts have not been continued in the twentieth century. Another very significant collection of Sanskrit and Prākṛt manuscripts, mainly of Jaina works, is that which is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg. Acquired in the 1880s when Strasbourg was part of Germany and the Sanskrit chair occupied by the Swiss-German scholar Ernst Leumann, it was catalogued only in 1975 Tripāṭhī. This

publication encouraged research on so far unknown works (e.g., Balbir 1982).

Outside France, the most important number of Sanskrit manuscripts is housed at the French Institute of Pondicherry, which had among its many goals to preserve the manuscript heritage in Tamil Nadu. It has gathered the most important collection in the world of Śaiva Siddhānta manuscripts (more than 8,000). Since its creation in 1955, the Indology Department has produced a number of descriptive catalogues, which could not have been done without the active involvement of Indian scholars employed there. The IFP's expertise in preserving, cataloguing and studying manuscripts was acknowledged by Indian authorities in 2003, when the IFP was chosen as one of the Manuscript Resource Centres by the National Mission for Manuscripts. All the paper transcripts (1150) have been digitized with the support of the Muktabodha Institute and are now available online.

The present "Institut d'Etudes Indiennes" in Paris, which houses an important library for Indian classical studies originally built on the collections formed by Emile Senart (1847-1928) and Sylvain Lévi, is part of the "Instituts d'Extrême-Orient" of the Collège de France since 1973. The library has grown through continuous purchases and has been enriched in recent years by special collections acquired after the death of several French classical Indologists (e.g., L. Sternbach, L. Renou, M. Biardeau, A. Roşu). But the role of this Institute has changed from the one it had when the then "Institut de Civilisation Indienne" was a part of the Université de Paris and, being in direct contact with the teaching institutions where students got their doctorates, was the headquarters of Sanskrit studies. In recent decades, the Library of the Société Asiatique, another important place for our studies, also grew with, for instance, items from the personal library of Jean Filliozat, thus increasing its collection in the areas of Yoga and Āyurveda.

The newly-founded BULAC (Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations) which is going to open during autumn

2011 will now be the prime library for oriental studies in France. In the field of Indology it will gather the library of the INaLCO, the Bibliothèque Jules Bloch (University of Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle) and other specialized collections from the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (such as that of Charlotte Vaudeville), the catalogues of which are all available online. The Musée Guimet library and the library of EFEO, which are located close to each other, also provide a very valuable scientific environment for research in classical Indian studies.

Encouragements to Sanskrit studies are given by short-term scholarships granted by the EFEO to help students pursuing research in India and by other aids from the Ministries of Higher Education and of Foreign Affairs, or by awards offered by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres to projects or publications. The "Prix de la Fondation Emile Senart", and the "Prix de la Fondation Colette Caillat de l'Institut de France" (since 2008) are specifically dedicated to classical Indian studies. The latter has also a provision to supply free lodging to foreign scholars in the field who desire to stay in Paris for carrying out a research project in collaboration with French scholars.

Editorial Structures

Collections of Publications

The beginning of the period under consideration saw the birth of collections of publications which were to be vital for Sanskrit studies.

The "Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne" (**PICI**) were created by Louis Renou, the then director of this Institute. The first volume, published in 1955, opened the series of his *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes* (17 vols.). Until around 1989, this collection, which today numbers 79 volumes, maintained a clear editorial line, regularly publishing monographs of high academic level with a strict philological bent, in the main areas of Sanskrit studies: Vedic, Vyākaraṇa, Kāvya, Alaṃkāraśāstra, philosophy, Middle-Indian, etc. Regrettably, this has not been the case in recent years, and this collection, which used to be a

reference of international status, tends to be less recognized now. Some of the volumes provide a written version of lectures given in Collège de France by prestigious foreign scholars (F. Staal, G. Oberhammer, S. Jamison, D.S. Ruegg).

The "Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie" (**PIFI**, later PDI) jointly issued from Pondicherry by the IFP and the EFEO, numbering now more than 115 titles, have gained a large recognition in the academic world in the fields of expertise of both these institutions. They reflect interest for mainly two areas: Vyākaraṇa and Śaiva Āgamas. This resulted into a series of editions and translations. Interest is also directed towards less known Sanskrit Kāvya literature, towards Alaṃkāraśāstra and to the exegetical tradition. Work on commentaries of some of Bhavabhūti's dramas is being done and, in 2005, the international conference which was organized to celebrate the 50th anniversary of French Indology in Pondicherry was dedicated to commentaries, in particular in Sanskrit.

Apart from its joint publications with the IFP, the EFEO also publishes works related to Sanskrit studies in its own collection "Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient" (**PEFEO**).

There is no systematic collection of Indological publications at the university level (University press). In the period under consideration, however, Indological books have been published by the Presses de l'Université de la Sorbonne-Nouvelle attached to the University of the same name (Balbir, dir. 1994; Dagens 2005; Lefèvre 2006; Petit 2011), occasional volumes have been published by the EPHE (Filliozat 1991; Balbir & Pinault ed. 1996; Patte 2004; Couture 2007; Balbir & Pinault, ed., 2009) or have appeared from Aix (Rolland 1971, 1975) and Lyon (Chojnacki, ed., 2001).

Periodicals

When in the form of articles, in France like in other Western countries, the work of Sanskrit scholars used to be published in so-called Oriental journals, which cover a wide geographical and cultural area going from the Middle East to Japan. The *JA* (born in 1822) is such a journal in France. Like its other

counterparts in Europe and USA, *JA* continues to publish regularly Indological articles. After a time when it also included numerous and substantial reviews, among others by Sanskrit scholars (Renou, Filliozat, Caillat, etc.), there was a long gap during which *JA* stopped publishing reviews, before starting to do so again in recent years but not on a systematic basis. The prestigious *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (born in 1900) also welcomes numerous contributions relating to Sanskrit and classical Indian studies, as well as reviews.

But, all over the Western countries, the last 40 years have also seen the birth of journals specifically devoted to Indian studies. In France, the *BEI* was founded in 1983 by Nalini Balbir and Georges-Jean Pinault and has published 27 issues since then. *BEI* is published by the French Association for Indian Studies (AFEI), which is a national branch of the International Association for Sanskrit Studies (IASS). Thus it was originally an initiative somewhat parallel to *Indologica Taurinensia*. *BEI*, where articles in French, English and German are published, is open to all branches and methods of Indology, but its main focus remains on classical studies and philological approach. Each issue contains a substantial number of reviews of Indological works published in France, and, even more, outside France.

The other French Indological periodical is *Puruṣārtha* which was created in 1975, is published by the CEIAS and numbers 29 issues. By difference with *BEI*, each issue is a thematic one under the scientific edition of one or two scholars, and most often emphasizes modern or contemporary issues in the South Asian world; however, some volumes more directly concerned with literature or Hindu notions were edited by Sanskritists (Ch. Malamoud, M. Biardeau, M.-C. Porcher, L. Bansat-Boudon, G. Colas).

Although the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* now attracts less Sanskritists than it used to at the time of Louis Renou, who offered many important contributions, it should be consulted by Sanskritists (e.g. articles by G.-J. Pinault, reviews by A. Minard, C. Caillat, J. Haudry, G.-J. Pinault). A similar situation holds true for non-specifically Indological periodicals

such as the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, the *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* or *Diogène*.

DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SANSKRIT AND SANSKRIT CULTURE

At the end of his 1951 update of classical Indian studies in France (partly translated into English in 1964), Louis Renou rightly underlined the necessity to enlighten the educated public, who is often confounded by too technical investigations, so that he "does not surrender its elementary critical faculty to false prophets". He considered it a feature of French Indology to have been able to carry side by side pure research and "healthy popularisation of India": "nos maîtres ne l'ont pas jugée indigne d'eux", as he wrote at a time when *L'Inde classique* was being published. Louis Renou himself showed the way, and is certainly the foremost among French scholars who acted as he preached: translations, grammars, dictionaries and lexicons, handbooks and surveys form a large part of his production all along his life and have largely remained valuable works at the French and international level. In the last 60 years, this trend has been confirmed and has taken the shape of translations from Indian classical languages published outside specialized Indological collections or led to the production of tools for studying Sanskrit. Even in a globalized world where English prevails and has to be known by all future scholars, it is vital that first-hand tools of good quality are made available in the national languages.

Translations: Works by scholars meant for a wide audience

Several Sanskrit scholars have been keen to produce accurate and readable translations for a wider audience than the mere specialist and, in the last 60 years, have found support from well-known publishing houses, although not always in a very systematic manner or at a regular pace. Publishers such as Gallimard, Le Cerf, and Garnier-Flammarion, which are academically oriented, have played a positive part in disseminating serious knowledge about Sanskrit literature. The series "Connaissance de l'Orient" (Gallimard) supported by

UNESCO has several such books: translations of Vedic hymns (Renou 1956), of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (Porcher 1995), of the *Amaruśataka* (Rebière 1994), of the Pāli *Milindapañha* (Nolot 1995) are among commendable instances. An ambitious project of translations with all necessary critical apparatus (introductions, notes, glossary, etc.) was launched in the prestigious series "La Pléiade", which gathers complete works of worldly significant authors. Three volumes have seen the light of the day and are the result of the work jointly done by several French Sanskritists: Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. Balbir 1997), Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. Biardeau & Porcher 1999) and a collection of Sanskrit dramas by Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Harṣa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (ed. Bansat-Boudon 2006). No complete translation of the *Mahābhārata* is available, but there are partial ones (Biardeau & Peterfalvi 1985, Schaufelberger & Vincent). As can be expected, the *Bhagavadgītā* has given birth to a variety of French translations. Valuable ones have been produced by translators who are experienced Sanskrit scholars having worked in the field of Indian philosophy (e.g., Esnoul & Lacombe 1972; Hulin 2010). Anthologies of philosophical texts have also been published (e.g. Hulin 2000).

Several French translations of Pāli texts of an academic level have been published as well by persons who, though having no academic position, have been seriously trained in Sanskrit and Pāli and have a solid university background: *Dhammapada* (Osier 1997) and *Vessantara Jātaka* (Osier 2010) appeared in France, whereas the twin French translations of the *Therī*- and *Theragāthā* have been published by the Pāli Text Society (Masset 2005 and 2011). A French translation of the *Dīghanikāya* had been started under the joint collaboration of Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat and Jules Bloch (1949) without coming to an end. With a different approach, the full *Dīghanikāya* is now available in French (Wijayaratna).

Prākṛt texts are part of this movement too: Haribhadra's original staging and vivid criticism of Hindu mythology as expressed in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is now accessible to a French language audience (Osier & Balbir 2004), and Yogīndu's *Paramātmaprakāśa*, translated from Apabhraṃśa, brings a fresh

light on Indian mysticism and spirituality (Balbir & Caillat 1999). The autobiography of the Jaina thinker Banārasīdāsa, written in Old Hindi in the seventeenth century (Petit 2011), is one of the latest additions to a growing body of seriously done translations.

Producing bilingual Sanskrit classics, having the original text facing or following the French translation, is another useful undertaking. Louis Renou founded a series for individual fascicles dealing with the minor Vedic and post-Vedic Upaniṣads (Paris: A. Maisonneuve publisher), which were written by him and several others (L. Silburn, B. Tubini, A.-M. Esnoul, J. Varenne and L. Kapani). A collection of bilingual Sanskrit classics with scholarly notes was started in 1930 ("collection Emile Senart", Les Belles Lettres). It offered the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Chāndogya-* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the *Meghadūta* and the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (Esnoul), a few Sanskrit dramas and the Aśokan inscriptions (Bloch 1950). These volumes have been reprinted in their original state, regrettably without any introductory update, but are still very useful. Unfortunately the project was not carried further, so that it never could reach the completeness of what was done for Latin and Greek classics, which are all available in this form for serious study and training to French-speaking students and scholars. It is a pity that no French publisher is ready to understand the need for similar systematic undertakings for Sanskrit. But the sudden interruption of the promising Clay Sanskrit Library, which employed a body of adequate translators, shows that this is a general problem not easy to solve. . . .

Reference tools

L'Inde classique (see above), together with a Sanskrit-French dictionary, a Sanskrit grammar and a *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit* which were all authored or co-authored by Renou and were published in the period preceding this survey, became some of the main reference tools of French-speaking Sanskritists. During the 1950s, Renou continued to produce other such valuable studies: *Grammaire de la langue védique*

(1952), *La Grammaire de Pāṇini* (revised edn. 1966), *Histoire de la langue sanskrite* (1956) and the Introduction to the *Altindische Grammatik* (1957). In recent years, Sanskrit academics have contributed to this field in their own ways in order to fill some of the gaps. Introduction to the system of Pāṇini's grammar, which increasingly stimulates the interest of linguists not conversant with Sanskrit has given birth to a book (P.-S. Filliozat 1988) but also to significant chapters in works initiated by non-Indologists (in particular Pinault in Auroux 1990; Balbir, Chojnacki, Filliozat, Haag, Pinault in Colombat 2000). Another area of Indian classical culture which arouses more and more curiosity is the development of scripts, of which India has a large variety, as is well known. In a recent synthetic and well-illustrated collection of essays written in French and later translated into English, the chapter on "Ecritures indiennes" (Pinault) offers an update of issues and research. The earlier Sanskrit handbooks used by former generations seem no more adapted to new audiences, which require new forms of learning. Two handbooks, very different in their perspectives, have been independently produced of late (Brocquet 2011; Balbir 2011; see also Garnier 2008).

France takes part in the distant learning trend and in the construction of online resources as well, through the pioneering work done by Gérard Huet, originally a scientist: besides a Sanskrit-French dictionary, the INRIA website also provides, for instance, tools for the identification of Sanskrit grammatical forms. The French Institute of Pondicherry has produced two CD-ROMS that contain database: *Paraṃparā* for manuscripts, and a sample CD for the PUK (*Pāṇinīya-vyākaraṇa-udāharaṇa-kośa*). French scholars episodically contribute to the increase of electronic texts on the Germany based website GRETIL (Fezas; Petit; Balbir), or in Japan for Buddhist Sanskrit texts (Oguibénine).

The strictly formatted collection of paperbacks known as "Que sais-je?" meant to provide students and academics with reliable overviews published several fascicles by Renou himself (*Les littératures de l'Inde*, *L'hindouisme*) and Jean Filliozat (*Les philosophies de l'Inde*). In more recent times, this tradition has

been continued, for instance, by Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat's *Le sanskrit*. Renou's survey *La civilisation de l'Inde ancienne* (1950; reprinted as paperback with preface and additions by Ch. Malamoud), based on a close reading of Sanskrit normative and narrative texts, remains an interesting introduction to the complexity of old Indian society in its diversity. Interest for Indian philosophical traditions and comparative philosophy, an area well-developed in France, has led to the publications of a comparatively large number of introductory books (e.g. Hulin 2000, 2001, 2008).

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MAIN FIELDS OF RESEARCH

The general context of humanities in France, where social sciences emerged as a distinct field at the end of the nineteenth century, have had their impact on Sanskrit studies as well, and led to distinct research teams as explained above. Some French scholars trained as Sanskritists and having first published philological work in the core areas of Sanskrit studies in Indological collections (Biardeau: grammar and Mīmāṃsā, 1956, 1958, 1964; Malamoud: Vedic literature, 1977) came to follow other intellectual orientations.

Different approaches to the **Vedic corpus** have been illustrated or favoured by French scholars in the last 60 years. Modern philology applied to the Vedic hymns is a way that had been opened wide by Renou. Although the complete French translation of the *Ṛgveda* he had contemplated could not be done, numerous translations and materials were provided in the *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes* (1955-69, EVP), whereas Vedic grammar and vocabulary were the topics of several monographs that have become reference tools. From the beginning of his research, Armand Minard, a pupil of A. Meillet (1866-1936), Renou and Bloch, devoted himself to a rather neglected field: syntax, and specially subordinate clause. His demanding work on the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* was closed with the publication of two volumes (1949 & 1956) out of the three that were planned. The purpose was to provide the history of the text and of its recitation through a meticulous examination of certain formal features which inform on the syntactic links and

on the sentence pattern in Brāhmanical time. These volumes, though widely acclaimed as a model of philology, have remained underused. The most easily accessible part is the new translation of several passages, and a multitude of observations on problems of grammar, semantics and etymology. Thus in the 1950s and 1960s, Vedic studies were illustrated mainly by two figures: L. Renou and A. Minard, whose different orientations complemented each other.

From this "school" come Charles Malamoud and Jean Haudry, who had no direct successors after retirement. *L'emploi des cas en védique* written by the latter (1977) is a syntactical study of the *R̥gveda* according to a combined synchronic and diachronic approach. It remains a standard work through its original reflection and its detailed remarks. Haudry further published studies in Indo-European linguistics, especially syntax, giving a significant place to Vedic Sanskrit. From 1980 on, his linguistic and philological research has been replaced by investigations more and more oriented towards an interpretation of Indo-European ideology and mythology, that is very controversial for its political implications (so-called "Nouvelle Droite"). As for Ch. Malamoud, after rather similar investigations which combined Vedic, Classical Sanskrit and Indo-European linguistics, he has developed a very personal synthesis of several disciplines (poetics, structural anthropology, sociology, psychoanalysis, philosophy, etc.) used in association to interpret in a very subtle manner Brāhmanical texts which are themselves a commentary on the ritual. This combination guarantees to his *oeuvre* an audience broader than Indologists. Most of his works, which are published outside Indological journals, deal with notions that are underlying Vedic thought on sacrifice and the myths narrated in commentaries, and are supposed to hold for India as a whole as primary categories of a pan-Indian mentality. He places himself within the context of the French school of social anthropology and historical psychology, as is shown by the title of his first collection of articles (*Cuire le monde. Rite et pensée dans l'Inde ancienne*, 1989), an echo of and homage to *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris, Maspéro, 1965) by Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914-

2007). On the other hand, he has developed to the extreme the most "structuralist" aspect of Renou's thoughts on Vedic or Classical Sanskrit texts.

The work of Boris Oguibénine is an attempt to combine philology with structuralism and the semiotics developed in Russia (the Tartu school) where he was first employed as a Research scholar at the Oriental Institute of the now Russian Academy of Sciences (1962-74). Two books are representative of his Vedic studies (1973, 1988).

In teaching and research, G.-J. Pinault, who was trained at EPHE and Paris-3 for Sanskrit and Indology, favours the philological and linguistic approach of Vedic hymns. He claims dialogue and mutual strengthening of the "French" approach in the tradition of Bergaigne and Renou through the contribution from other philological traditions. His work deals with morphology, syntax (the use of particles), etymology, lexicology, poetics and the contacts between Indo-Aryan and other languages.

Jean Varenne (1926-97), a prolific author of books of varying standards, wrote a serious study of the *Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* (1960). The investigation of Vedic ritual was an area that was not much explored in France, until the work done by Pierre Rolland (1940-74) in the short span of his life and career. A scholar with a background in classical philology who was trained in France and in Germany, his translation of the *Vārāhagr̥hyasūtra* and its *pariśiṣṭa*s (1971, 1975) is the first one of this kind of texts in France. It is significant that his contribution to the field was best acknowledged by A. Parpola (1976) and not by a French scholar: this orientation was not privileged by any Sanskrit scholar in this country, but we may hope that the situation changes with the presence in Paris (EPHE) of Jan E.M. Houben, who has made himself known through significant contributions to the study of Vedic ritual.

Epic and Purāṇic studies, a relatively new field in this period in France, were dominated by Madeleine Biardeau from the end of the 1960s to the publication of her synthesis on the *Mahābhārata* in 2002. After an intensive study of philosophy of

language in India, especially from Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta points of view, in a series of important works, M. Biardeau turned towards the Sanskrit Epics. In the wake of the remarkable synthesis *Mythe et épopée* (I, 1968) by Georges Dumézil, the master of Indo-European comparative mythology, she proposed to read the whole *Mahābhārata* as a reinterpretation of previous Vedic conceptions, most importantly regarding the sacrifice, in the ideological framework of *bhakti*. Her constant concern with what appeared to her as the *Mahābhārata*'s fundamental unity resulted in an impressively coherent overview of the whole Epics and in the (controversial) assumption of the *Mahābhārata* being a text written in a few decades and not composed by accretions and interpolations on a period of centuries. Such a view induces among other things that the *Bhagavadgītā* must be read as an original part and the very gist of the *Mahābhārata*'s teaching. Her reluctance in acknowledging the importance or even possibility of preparing critical editions for the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas reflects a conception widely prevalent among French indologists, previously expressed by Sylvain Lévi and still held by most of her disciples, who besides are the only French-speaking Indologists to have published in this field during our period (Defourny 1978; Scheuer 1982; Couture 1991, 2007). Besides her main work on the *Mahābhārata*, M. Biardeau also contributed significantly to the analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by co-editing with M.-C. Porcher a collective French translation of the *ādikāvya* (1999) and offering in this case too a structuralist reading of the whole text.

If we leave apart the pioneering and widely praised studies by Charlotte Vaudeville in the 1960s of medieval Indo-Aryan versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, notably Tulsidās's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, and of Krishnaite myths in connection with the development of *bhakti*, a recent trend, begun in the 1990s and echoing international undertakings elsewhere, consists in studies of various kinds of transformations of Sanskrit Epic and Purāṇic textual traditions: Ph. Benoit (1994) offers a careful comparison of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* with Kṛttivās's classical Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, N. Dejenne (2007) studies some contemporary

rewritings and uses of Paraśurāma's epic story. Relationships between Hindu and Jaina narrative traditions are a recent and promising trend and are approached from two angles: an ongoing project confronts Hindu and Jaina accounts of Kṛṣṇa's deeds, especially through Jaina versions of the *Harivaṃśa* (A. Couture and Ch. Chojnacki), while Jaina polemical presentations of Hindu myths have also been analyzed (Osier 2004; Osier & Balbir 2004).

In the field of Purāṇas, except for Biardeau's book on Purāṇic cosmogonies, works by French scholars have been rather sparse with few translations or studies. Recent monographs have very fruitfully crossed textual and iconographic sources (Ladrech 2010 on Bhairava; Schmid 2010 on Kṛṣṇa). It may also be mentioned that, besides the devotional or mythological parts of the Purāṇas, the more didactic or technical sections of these compendia of Hindu culture have given rise to a few studies — iconographic (Mallmann 1963), or musicological (Bhatt and Daniélou 1959). A small number of studies have also been devoted to *sthalamāhātmya*s, either from historical or literary viewpoints (Jacques, 1962; Porcher 1985 "La représentation de l'espace sacré dans le *Kāñcimāhātmya*" in *Puruṣārtha* V.1, 1985-86).

In the last 60 years, **linguistic research** in the modern sense of the term focussing on Sanskrit proper, has mostly been done by scholars working on the Vedic tradition. Apart from Renou, there has hardly been any contribution to the study of classical Sanskrit nominal derivation, composition or syntax with recourse to the tools of modern linguistic science, in a manner worth mentioning. This is certainly a desideratum. The field of **Vyākaraṇa**, on the other hand, has developed considerably and has been represented by a tradition of French scholarship. Opened in France by Renou's publication of *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, *La grammaire de Pāṇini* and by the "EVP"s, it has been cultivated both in the Paris and Pondicherry centres. Among the main orientations reflected by the publications that have appeared over the period are the following: technical analysis, description and structure of Sanskrit in the Pāṇinian tradition (e.g. PUK; Haag, Aussant),

edition and translation of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the exegetical tradition of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa (P.-S. Filliozat), analysis of the philosophy of language through Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (Biardeau) or a more comprehensive tradition (*Śābdabodhamīmāṃsā*). Most notable is the *Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇodāharaṇakośaḥ*, an ongoing huge project involving a number of *paṇḍit*s under the heading of F. Grimal. The PUK constitutes an instrument to grasp in a practical way both the functioning and the field of application of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* along with Kātyāyana's *vārttika*s. To this end, the around 40,000 examples provided by four main commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have been collected in the form of a dictionary which follows the plan of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī* seventeenth century and whose entries are those examples made accessible either directly or through Pāṇini's *sūtra*s or through Indian grammatical terminology. A new joint project (J.E.M. Houben/IFP) will concentrate on later grammars, in tune with today's concerns in Indology for the study of knowledge transmission and its adaptations to new audiences of the pre-modern period.

Linguistic investigations of classical Indian languages other than Sanskrit had been opened up in France by the seminal syntheses of Jules Bloch and have continued to be a prominent area of French scholarship to date. A member of the linguistic school led by Meillet, Jules Bloch favoured a genuine linguistic, structural, approach of **Middle and Neo Indo-Aryan** both in diachrony and synchrony, considering linguistic phenomena in the system where they take place rather than giving precedence to general laws. Phonetic changes are not enough to explain evolutions, which are also motivated by analogy, style and discourse. The translation into English of his seminal study *L'indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes* (by Alfred Master) dates back to 1965 and *Application de la cartographie à l'histoire de l'indo-aryen* was published posthumously (1963, by C. Caillat and P. Meile). This trend is best illustrated in the linguistic works of Caillat (2011). Pali lexicography has been represented, in particular, by French contributions to *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Caillat, Balbir) or articles on monastic technical vocabulary

(Nolot in *Journal of the Pali Text Society*). Oguibénine's own attempts in the field of Buddhist Sanskrit, however, have failed to convince specialists (1996). Linguistic investigations of literary Prākṛts have been achieved parallel to the study of classical dramas and Jaina texts written in Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Śaurasenī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṃśa (Caillat, Balbir, Chojnacki). The study of Aśokan Prākṛts, started by Bloch's monograph (1950), has been the focus of many articles (Caillat, Fussman). The latter can also be credited with contributions which have marked significant progresses in the knowledge of Gāndhārī Prākṛt as found in the inscriptions, but, unfortunately, did not pursue this line in research or teaching, as a consequence of which there is no French scholar that joined the different ventures for the edition of the Gāndhāran manuscripts discovered in the last 20 years. A significant achievement of French work in the area of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics was the publication of the contributions collected in *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes* (PICI 1989), the outcome of an international conference organized in 1986.

Sanskrit belles-lettres and poetics are another field which was developed in multiple studies and translations by Louis Renou and his disciple, Nadine Stchoupak, and continued by others in the subsequent years. Renou's stylistic monographs on literary forms (*kāvya*, 1959; *sūtra*, 1963, etc.) are fundamental in this respect. In the field of poetics, the first Alaṃkāraśāstra was published at the turn of the period: Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* translated into French by Renou and Stchoupak (Société Asiatique, 1946). The 17th (seventeenth) century treatise, *Pratāparudrīya* was translated by P.-S. Filliozat (1963), whereas Porcher (1978) provides for the main *alaṃkāra*s an investigation, the originality of which is to combine the definitions of treatises (Daṇḍin, Mammaṭa) and the practice of poetical ornaments as illustrated by Veṅkaṭādhvarin, an interesting author from south India whose compositions had been analyzed separately by her (Porcher 1972). Research in the field of poetics, which is closely connected with Sanskrit traditional learning in India, is conducted at the EFEO. The *Index des mots de l'oeuvre de Bhavabhūti* by F. Grimal (2005) offers

one of the very rare indices for all the Sanskrit and Prākṛt words in the corpus of a *kāvya* author (around 55,000 occurrences), and is thus an important contribution to the lexicology of *kāvya*. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita's *Kāvyadarpaṇa* is also being edited and studied by F. Grimal and Anjaneya Sarma. An outcome of the interest in the Sanskrit tradition of rhetorics is the stylistic studies of ornate inscriptions and *praśasti*s achieved with a view to understanding how *alaṃkāra*s contribute to the epigraphical discourse and to the legitimation of kings (Brocquet).

A few French Sanskritists who had studied with Renou but did not become professional Indologists or did not publish much otherwise, have procured the only French translations and studies of some important literary works in the "Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne" (*Veṇīsaṃhāra*: Bourgeois 1971, also Codet in Bansat-Boudon 2006; *Prabodhacandrodaya*: Pédraglio 1974; *Ghaṭakarparavivṛtti*: Parlier 1975). The "Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie" unsurprisingly features several rare *kāvya*s or literary works exhibiting the virtuosity of Sanskrit poets (works by Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣita: P.-S. Filliozat 1967; *Dhātukāvya*: Forthomme 1993; Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*: Brocquet 2010). Such publications (see also P.-S. Filliozat 2003) are important as they show the extension of the usages of Sanskrit in all its potentialities and open new roads.

Sanskrit drama is one of the traditional fields illustrated by the French school of Indology, starting with S. Lévi, *Le théâtre indien* and the updated introduction provided by L. Renou to its reprint ("La recherche sur le théâtre indien depuis 1890", 1963). It has progressed in four directions: study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and of the aesthetics of Abhinavagupta (Bansat-Boudon 1992 and 2004), new or first French translations of part of the repertoire (Grimal 1989; Törzsök 2006; Bansat-Boudon 2006, dir.), study of the exegetical tradition on dramatical works (Grimal 1998, on Bhavabhūti) and ongoing work on classical forms of theatre elaborated in Jaina *milieu*s (Besnard 2003; Univ. Lyon-3) or on literary forms closely associated with drama, such as allegory (Balbir & Osier 2004).

Among all Indian philosophical doctrines, Kashmir Śaivism has certainly attracted the greatest and most continuous interest among French Sanskritists in the last 60 years from L. Silburn's editions and translations in the 1950s and 1960s up to very recent books (Ratié 2011 on the Pratyabhijñā school). André Padoux, a disciple like L. Silburn of Swami Lakshman Joo, has been acknowledged as an authority in the field since the publication of his research on *Vāc* (1964). Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra* has appealed to French Sanskritists all over the period (Silburn 1958; Bansat-Boudon & Tripathi 2010). On the contrary, the exploration of certain Indian philosophical schools seems to be identified with one scholar (Vaikhānasa with G. Colas; Madhva's Dvaita Vedānta with S. Siauve). Siauve's work was pioneering in France, while the study of Rāmānuja's and Śaṅkara's Vedāntic schools had been opened by O. Lacombe's classics *L'Absolu selon le Vedānta* (1939) and continued by Esnoul (1964), Hulin (2001). More rarely, key notions in Indian thought have been studied in depth (*ahaṃkāra*: Hulin 1978; *saṃskāra*: Kapani 1992-93).

The interest for the Yoga tradition has led to several French translations, which were published independently but, to some extent, overlap (Angot, Degrâces, Filliozat).

The first publication showing French interest for Nyāya and Navya-Nyāya was the French annotated translation with Sanskrit text of Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṃgraha* by Alfred Foucher (1949). His interest in this work had been stimulated during stays in India where he had realized that this was a handbook actually used in the training of students and pandits (paṇḍits) in Varanasi. During the last 60 years, this field of study was pursued intensely by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, who published the text and translation of "The Chapter *Siddhāntalakṣaṇa-prakaraṇa* of Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* together with Raghunātha's *Didhiti* and Jagadīśa *Tarkālaṅkāra*'s *ṭīkā*" in issues of the *Journal Asiatique*. A demanding philologist and a provocative mind, he underlined the importance of the Navya-Nyāya school which had so much influence on the development of Indian thought in the pre-modern period. As well as Gerdi Gerschheimer, who investigated the theory of

meaning according to Gadādhara's *Śaktivādavicāra* (1996), he emphasized that translation and interpretation of such philosophical texts should be based on a critical study of the manuscript traditions.

Many French scholars studying Indian philosophical systems have been initially very well trained in Western classical philosophy, which accounts for the seriousness of their work. It also explains that several of them (e.g., Hulin, Chenet) have often undertaken studies in comparative philosophy and in the history of reception of Indian philosophical ideas among European thinkers. Interreligious dialogue between Christianity and Hinduism or Buddhism has also inspired the later work of O. Lacombe, a disciple of the major French Catholic thinker Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) and a councillor for other religions near the Vatican.

For many years, **Buddhist studies** had been a shining field in France under the leadership of S. Lévi, as underlined in many of the updates, and held an overwhelming place. Although it never disappeared from the French scene, one may say that there was a shift of emphasis at least for a time. Yet, important monographs were produced in France, some of which were written in French by scholars from abroad who, to some extent, considered themselves as part of the French academic world (E. Lamotte, J. May, D.S. Ruegg). Comparative investigations of the Buddha's biography and of the Buddhist schools based on sources in different languages conducted by A. Bareau are authoritative books, as is J. Naudou's *Les bouddhistes kaśmiriens au moyen-âge* (1968) which was among the first modern studies to cover a region at the confluence of cultures and analyse it from an original religious angle. A few extra-canonical works in Pāli, so far unavailable outside Asia, were edited at the encouragement of A. Bareau (narratives: J. ver Eecke-Filliozat; *Lokapaññatti*: E. Denis). More generally, scholars, mostly from the EFEO, working on South-East Asia have largely contributed to our knowledge of its Pāli literature and of the relation of Pāli with the vernacular languages (G. Coedès: *Paṭhamasambodhi*; P. Dupont, F. Martini, G. Terral-Martini: the Jātaka traditions; P. Skilling). Early Buddhist thought was explored by K.

Bhattacharya, whose *L'ātman-brahman dans le bouddhisme ancien* (1973) ends with a thought-provoking conclusion: the Buddha does not negate the Upaniṣadic *ātman*. On the contrary, he states it indirectly by negating what the *ātman* is generally believed to be.

In the last 30 years, France has played a role in the study of Buddhist documents which throw a new light on Buddhism in Gandhāra, Central Asia and Tibet, through scholars who are versed in Sanskrit and other languages as well (Tocharian: G.-J. Pinault; Tibetan: Rahula 1971, C. Scherrer-Schaub, P. Skilling) and are thus able to investigate the transmission of texts in the region.

Jaina philology, based on the use of first-hand Sanskrit and Prākṛt sources, is an instance of how a new area of classical Indian studies developed successfully in France in the last 50 years. Before the 1960s, it had been represented by a solitary scholar, A.A. Guérinot, who had no academic position but managed to produce two reference books and a few articles in the beginning of the twentieth century. Then there was a large gap. Here again, Louis Renou played a significant role. He himself published little in this field, but as he was concerned with all areas of Indian classical studies, he knew how to encourage young people in new avenues, and was aware that Jaina philology had been so far the undisputed property of Germany. Colette Caillat was thus introduced to Walther Schubring (Hamburg). This led to an enduring co-operation between France and Germany in the training of new scholars in this area until today (Berlin, Munich, Münster). Under the leadership of C. Caillat, who held an important academic position in French university and published a pioneering synthesis (1965) as well as editions and translations of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts (see references in Caillat 2011), Jaina philology was established on a solid ground, and work in co-operation with leading Indian scholars developed as well (A.N. Upadhye, D.D. Malvania, H.C. Bhayani). The 1981 International Jaina Symposium on Jaina narrative and canonical literature, organized in Strasbourg University (Proceedings 1983), marked the entry of France on the stage of Jaina classical studies. They

are now able to flourish through a small *paramparā*, as two of the Sanskrit University professors today are specialists of this area (Balbir: Paris-3; Chojnacki: Lyon-3) and are thus in a favourable position to stimulate the interest of doctoral students for this path. Caillat's publications focused on canonical Śvetāmbara texts in Ardhamāgadhī, especially the Jaina books of discipline, and the *Prakīrṇaka*s or on Apabhraṃśa authors, in a true linguistic and philological approach. Study and critical translations of Jaina narrative literature in Sanskrit and Prākṛt (Balbir 1982, Chojnacki 1995, Osier 2004), investigation of the Jaina exegetical tradition and history of the Jaina monastic orders in the pre-modern period (Balbir) are among the main orientations of present Jaina philology in France. Two major achievements concern the investigation of the Jaina exegetical tradition as represented in the Āvaśyaka-corpus (Balbir 1993), continuing the pioneering work of Ernst Leumann (1859-1931), and the first complete translation in any European language of Uddyotanasūri's Prākṛt novel, the *Kuvalayamālā* (Chojnacki 2008). An ongoing project carried out in Paris is expected to result into a complete French annotated translation and study of another Prākṛt narrative of importance, the *Vasudevahiṇḍī.*

In the field of **Āgamic and Tāntric literature**, the quite new study of Śaiva Siddhānta has dramatically developed and become a trademark of French Indology in Pondicherry where the initial impetus given by J. Filliozat and N.R. Bhatt has never waned. N.R. Bhatt edited an impressive number of Āgamas which served as a reliable basis for later translations or studies.

A researcher like H. Brunner devoted her whole work to the study of south Indian Śaivism, producing what may be the most detailed analysis of one of its treatises, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (4 vols., 1963-98). Another work by H. Brunner deserving mention is her French translation (1985) of the sections on rituals (*kriyāpāda*) and on conduct (*caryāpāda*) of the *Mr̥gendrāgama* which was complemented by M. Hulin's French translation (1980) of the sections on doctrine (*vidyāpāda*) and on Yoga (*yogapāda*) of the same Āgama: the joint efforts by these two specialists of various fields resulted in

a comprehensive French presentation of one of the rare Āgamas whose four constitutive parts have survived. The *Rauravāgama*, which also remains in its complete state, was also fully translated in French by Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000), using Bhatt's critical edition (published between 1961 and 1988).

Most of the studies pursued in Pondicherry, based on a stern philological work, have also included historical concerns, one of the main themes of reflection being the chronological, textual and doctrinal connections either inside the south Indian Śaiva Siddhānta school or between the Kāśmīrian Tantras and South Indian Āgamas. In this respect, Goodall's books on the *Parākhyatantra* (2004) and on Kāśmīrian Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary of the *Kiraṇatantra* (1998), both of them preceded by copious introductions, have made an impact. If the literature of the Āgamas proper is anonymous, their commentators or compilers are better known and, among them, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha tenth century and Vedajñāna (a sixteenth-century) writer from Chidambaram in Tamil Nadu) have been the most studied at Pondicherry because of the breadth of their knowledge. A quite good initiation to Śaiva Siddhānta may indeed be the *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjārī* by the latter, which is of an original kind, a "Śaivite catechism" whose matter is classified number-wise (Dagens 1979).

Scientific and technical literatures were not among the priorities of the first French Sanskritists. A notable exception, however, was L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens* (1896) who opened eyes on the unknown field of Ratnaśāstra. Āyurveda became a significant area of French Sanskrit studies with the arrival on the Indological stage of Jean Filliozat, himself originally a practising ophthalmologist. His seminal study *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles grecs* appeared at the beginning of the period under consideration (1949). It was followed by a number of significant contributions on the history of medicine, on psychology and Yoga, on the history of sciences and astronomy in India (references in Filliozat 1974). Among those who were encouraged to pursue in these directions under Filliozat's leadership are R. Billard

(astronomy: 1971) A. Raison (*Hārītasaṃhitā* 1974) and, most significantly, Arion Roşu. An extremely serious philologist with a taste for exhaustiveness and a broad culture, he explored many avenues of Āyurveda, in the broadest sense of the word, from psychology to alchemy, martial arts and, more generally, all aspects of Indian material culture based on a close reading of Sanskrit sources (Roşu 1978; full bibliography in Ciurtin 2004). In keeping with J. Filliozat's tradition, he had a strong interest for personalities who contributed to shape knowledge on Āyurveda (G. Liétard and P. Cordier in Roşu 1989). At present, Āyurvedic concerns are maintained at the EPHE (teaching of Jan E.M. Houben). But as a fashionable field in the general twentieth-twenty-first century context, it also occasionally results into pseudo-scientific publications which are better forgotten.

History of Indian sciences, especially mathematics, has been among the developing branches over the last 20 years under the influence of Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (see more details in Filliozat 1997; Patte 2004; Keller 2006).

Treatises on temple architecture, especially in relation with worship practices, as expressed in the Sanskrit Āgamas, and the relations between norms and realities are at the heart of several books which were prepared in Pondicherry and published at the EFEO/IFP (*Mayamata*: B. Dagens; *Marīcisaṃhitā*: G. Colas; *Rauravāgama* and *Dīptāgama*: B. Dagens et alii; see also Dagens 2005). Musicology Saṅgītaśāstra has been the focus of a few studies published at Pondicherry (Bhatt & Daniélou 1959).

Finally, it is regretted that studies on **Dharmaśāstras** or the **Arthaśāstra** are little developed in France and have always relied on individualities with very diverse approaches. They have focused on the relationship between Sanskrit legal sources and practice of dharma in South-East Asia (Lingat), on the influence of these sources on the constitution of a modern law code in Nepal (Fezas), and on the connection between normative texts and narrative literature (Sternbach).

In the field of **epigraphy**, the fundamental editions and translations provided by George Coedès in his *Inscriptions du*

Cambodge, the last volumes of which were published in our period, have enriched Sanskrit (and Pāli) studies considerably. Continuing the work pursued by his French predecessors from the pioneering studies of Bergaigne and Barth in the 1880s onwards, Coedès's work throws a new light on the interactions of languages and religions in ancient Cambodia, as has been shown in the subsequent studies by K. Bhattacharya (1961, 1991). Research in these directions, which benefits from increased knowledge about the role played by the Śaiva Āgamas, continues today, with the support of the EFEO centres situated all over South-East Asia, Cambodia and Indonesia being the richest countries for Sanskrit inscriptions. In India proper, French scholars have contributed more through re-editions of known inscriptions (Fussman) or through their literary study (Brocquet) than through publishing so far unknown Sanskrit material (as a difference with the fields of Tamil or Kannada epigraphy). A French-Bangladeshi co-operation was undertaken some years ago for a comprehensive study of the Buddhist site of Mahāsthān, including its inscriptions. It can thus be said that, with the notable exception of Coedès who relied on his unique familiarity of the epigraphy of Indianized South-East Asia to write a still classical history of this region (1964), the rare French Sanskritists to have worked on epigraphy have not done it with a view to solving historical problems.

As indicated above, French Indologists have always regularly published surveys of the results of their predecessors in the field and they have honored their masters with Festschrifts. Both these kinds of endeavors have persisted since 1950 with, for instance the volumes and conferences as tributes to L. Renou (1968, 1996), A. Foucher (2009) or J. Filliozat (2006). Nevertheless there have also been inflexions in the way of considering and assessing the works of previous scholars: on the one hand, after the classic book by Raymond Schwab on the Oriental Renaissance (1950, English translation 1984), a number of Indologists have been keen on exploring the very first stages of the constitution of a "scientific" Indology in Europe by revisiting the works of eighteenth- century French pioneers

like Father Coeurdoux or Anquetil-Duperron (Murr 1986). On the other hand, a true social and cultural history of Sanskrit and classical Indian studies in France seems to be in the making (cf. Rocher 2009) with an effort to replace the most significant scholars in their milieu: the volume on Sylvain Lévi (Bansat-Boudon & Lardinois, ed. 2007) which assessed his scientific heritage as well as it investigated his intellectual and associative commitments outside the purely academic field, may be the best example among such undertakings. However, if the influence of the debates on Orientalism issued from Said's famous book can be noticed here, the majority of French Sanskritists remain largely defiant towards, or simply alien, to post-colonial approaches, so that their co-operation with epistemologists or historians of human sciences is rather limited. The important works pursued in the United States by Ronald Inden, Thomas R. Trautmann or Rosane Rocher in the last 20 years on the actors and the institutions involved in the production of knowledge on India at the end of the eighteenth and during nineteenth century have generated few comments among French Sanskritists. It is to be hoped that the situation may change and that they may fully participate in the ongoing reflexive discussions on the history of their discipline. In particular, individual studies on French Indologists and a comprehensive overview of French Sanskrit scholarship in the nineteenth century are required.

CONCLUSION

In one of his updates, Renou wrote: "L'indianisme actif s'est toujours fait avec peu d'hommes et peu de moyens" (1952: 90). This remains true for Sanskrit studies in France, compared to other fields of classical humanities. Yet, today, Sanskrit studies are present in a panel of institutions in France or in French research institutions in India and involve a variety of individuals. Such a situation makes French Indological research a little difficult to grasp from the outside, but is the result of almost two centuries of presence of Sanskrit in the French academic world. If one could argue that it entails a certain lack of coordination, with people working in the same fields being

scattered in different places, it is not necessarily by itself a shortcoming as it allows a good amount of academic freedom in the choice of subjects and methods. Thus, on the whole, in spite of difficulties currently encountered by humanities in France as everywhere else, French classical Indology holds its ground and maintains a significant academic presence. At least in universities, this nevertheless requires a continuous struggle and coherent strategies, for we seem to belong to a field of studies that is always required to justify its existence.

In the methods, French Sanskrit studies in the past 60 years have known some inflexions: Sanskrit studies have acquired a greater autonomy from comparative Indo-European grammar, and interactions with Indian scholars and the living tradition of Sanskrit knowledge have increased in a significant manner. The co-operation between Western and Indian scholars has proved so fruitful that no French Sanskritist would now think of pursuing research — whether in the demanding fields of Śāstras and Vyākaraṇa or in studies of religious traditions — without resorting to the knowledge of *paṇḍit*s or *ācārya*s.

In 1951, some central areas of Sanskrit studies had hardly been explored in France. In the last 60 years, if we leave aside French Sanskrit scholars whose activity has been mainly addressed to French audiences, several fields have been represented significantly at the international level by at least a few scholars through three generations and juniors now following the path. This is the case with traditional areas of classical French Indology which had been illustrated earlier (Vedic literature and poetics, Indian theatre, Buddhist philology, Middle Indian languages, epigraphy) and with rather new fields in France (Vyākaraṇa, Epic, Āgamic and Tantric studies, Jaina studies and technical literatures).

It remains to see how much the ongoing organizational changes in French academic life will affect in-depth study of classical India and the long-term work it requires.

Appendix: Sanskrit Scholars in French Teaching and Research Institutions (1950-2010)

Paris

Sorbonne, Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris (until 1970, then Paris-3 or Paris-4)

- Louis Renou, Professor (1936-66), successor to Alfred Foucher
- Armand Minard, Professor (1957-77, Paris-3)
- Olivier Lacombe, Professor "Philosophie comparée" (1959-74, Paris-4 Sorbonne)

University of Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle

- Armand Minard (see above)
- Anne-Marie Esnoul (non-permanent member of staff)
- Colette Caillat, Lecturer, then Professor "Civilisation de l'Inde et du Sud-Est asiatique" (1967-89)
- Ludwik Sternbach, Associate Professor (1970-72)
- Charlotte Vaudeville, Professor "Littératures et civilisation de l'Inde médiévale et moderne" (1968-88)
- Marie-Claude Porcher, Lecturer (1977-78), Professor "Langues et littératures indiennes" (1979-2003)
- François Grimal, Lecturer (1978-86; detached at EFEO from 1986 to 1998)
- Bruno Dagens, Professor "Histoire ancienne et archéologie de l'Asie du sud et du sud-est" (1987-2003)
- Nalini Balbir, Professor "Indologie. Linguistique et philologie" (since 1988)
- Jean Fezas, Lecturer (1998-2002), Professor "Histoire des traditions juridiques du monde indien" (since 2003)
- Marie-Luce Barazer-Billoret, Lecturer "Sanskrit et religions indiennes" (since 2004)
- Nicolas Dejenne, Lecturer "Histoire et traditions textuelles du monde indien" (since 2010)

Indian visiting professors (appointed by the ICCR, since 1986)

- J.R. Joshi, Pune University (1986-87)
- Shiv Kumar Sharma, Pune University (1987-89)
- Raj Kumari Kubba, University of Delhi (1989-91)
- Narayan Shanker Shukla, University of Delhi (1991-93)
- Shyam Kishore Lal, Pune University (1993-96)
- Om Prakash Pandey, Lucknow University (1997-2000)
- H.P. Devaki, Mysore University 2000-03
- Satyanarayan Chakraborty, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata (2006-February 2009)
- Gopabandhu Mishra, Banaras Hindu University (since October 2010)

University of Paris-4 Sorbonne

- Olivier Lacombe (see above)
- Guy Bugault, Lecturer (1973-74), then Professor "Philosophie indienne et comparée" (1975-85)
- Michel Hulin, Lecturer "Philosophie indienne" (1971-81), Professor "Philosophie indienne et comparée" (1981-98)
- François Chenet, Lecturer (1987-99), then Professor "Philosophie indienne et comparée" (since 1999)
- Edith Parlier-Renault, Lecturer (1990-2006), Professor "Histoire de l'art de l'Asie du sud et du sud-est" (since 2007)
- Karine Ladrech, Lecturer "Histoire de l'art et archéologie" (since 2008; with elementary teaching of Sanskrit)

University of Paris-10 Nanterre

- Lakshmi Kapani, Temporary teacher (1974-82), Associate Lecturer "Philosophie indienne" (1982-88), Lecturer "Philosophie et Langues" (1989-2002), Professor "Philosophie comparée" 2002-08

"Directeurs d'études" at École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE).

Section des sciences historiques et philologiques

- Jules Bloch, “Grammaire comparée de l’indo-européen” (1919-51)
- Armand Minard, “Grammaire comparée” (1952-76)
- Jean Haudry, “Grammaire comparée” (1976-98)
- Louis Renou, “Sanskrit” (1929-66)
- Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, “Sanskrit” (1967-2002)
- Jan E.M. Houben, “Sources et histoire de la tradition sanskrite” (since 2003)
- Jean Filliozat, “Philologie indienne” (1941-77)
- François Gros, “Histoire et philologie de l’Inde méridionale” (1977-2000)
- Nalini Balbir, “Philologie moyen-indienne” (since 2000)
- André Bareau, “Philologie des textes bouddhiques” (1956-73)
- Claude Jacques, “Epigraphie de l’Inde et de l’Asie du sud-est” (1973-94)
- Georges-Jean Pinault, “Philologie des textes bouddhique d’Asie centrale” (since 1995)
- Charlotte Vaudeville, “Histoire et philologie de l’Inde moderne” (1963-88)
- Françoise Mallison, “Histoire et philologie de l’Inde occidentale au Moyen-âge (1989-2004)
- Françoise Delvoye, “Histoire et philologie de l’Inde médiévale et moghole” (since 2004; previously Lecturer, 1996-2004)

Section des sciences religieuses

- Olivier Lacombe, “Religions de l’Inde” (1955-71)
- Anne-Marie Esnoul, “Religions de l’Inde” (1972-77; previously Lecturer, 1971-72)
- Charles Malamoud, “Religions de l’Inde ” (1977-2000 ; previously Lecturer, 1972-76)
- Lyne Bansat-Boudon, “Religions de l’Inde: rites et systèmes de représentations dans les textes classiques” (since 2000)

- Madeleine Biardeau, "Inde hindoue. Anthropologie de l'hindouisme" (1960-89)
- Gerdi Gerschheimer, "Religions de l'Inde: védisme et hindouisme classique" (since 1997)
- Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Histoire du bouddhisme indien tardif" (since 1999)

École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

- Pascale Haag, Lecturer (since 2003)

Professors at Collège de France

- Jules Bloch, "Langue et littérature sanscrites" (1937-51)
- Jean Filliozat, "Langue et littératures de l'Inde" (1952-78) and Ludwik Sternbach Associate Professor on a chair reserved for foreign scholars (1972-76)
- André Bareau, "Etude du bouddhisme" (1971-91)
- Gérard Fussman, "Histoire du monde indien" (1984-2011)
- Jean Kellens, "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes" (since 1993).

Universities outside Paris

Faculté des Lettres, University of Lyon (until 1968), then University of Lyon-3 Jean Moulin

- Louis Renou, Lecturer (1925-29)
- Armand Minard, Professor (1942-57)
- Charles Malamoud, Assistant "Grammaire et philologie classique et sanskrit" (1957-62)
- Colette Caillat, Lecturer (1960-66)
- Marie-Claude Porcher, Assistant, then Senior Assistant (1967-77)
- Bernard Parlier, Assistant "Sanskrit" (1978-86), Senior Assistant (1986-93)

- Jean Haudry, Professor “Linguistique générale et grammaire comparée” (1976-98 [?])
- Jean Varenne, Professor “Sanskrit” (1981-87)
- Christine Chojnacki, Lecturer “Philologie classique et sanskrit” (1994-2004), Professor “Langues et cultures indiennes” (since 2004)

Faculté des Lettres, University of Strasbourg,
then University of Strasbourg-2 Marc Bloch

- Charles Malamoud, Professor without chair “Sanskrit et études indiennes” (1962-72)
- Gérard Fussman, Professor “Sanskrit” (1972-84)
- Hideaki Nakatani (1984-86), Nalini Balbir (1986-88), temporary teachers
- Boris Oguibénine, “Sanskrit” Professor (1988-2009)

Faculté des Lettres, University of Lille,
then University of Lille-3 Charles de Gaulle

- Olivier Lacombe, Professor, “Histoire de la philosophie et philosophie comparée” (1947-59)
- Jean Naudou, Lecturer (1970-74), then Professor “Sanskrit” (1974-85)
- Philippe Benoît, Associate assistant “Langue sanskrite, civilisation de l’Inde ancienne” (1987-89 and 1999-2000; Lecturer in Bengali at INaLCO since 1997)
- Lyne Bansat-Boudon, Lecturer “Sanskrit” (1990-2000)
- Judit Törzsök, Lecturer with Habilitation “Sanskrit” (since 2001)

University of Aix en Provence, then Aix-Marseille I

- Jean Varenne, Lecturer (1962-80)
- Jean Naudou, Professor “Langues et littératures indiennes et hindi” (1985-1990; position then redefined as Lecturership for Hindi, occupied since then by Elizabeth Naudou)

- Hélène Veyne-Flacelière, Lecturer "Sanskrit" (ca. (*c.*) 1992-97)
- Sylvain Brocquet, Lecturer "Langue et littérature sanskrites" (1997-2007), Professor "Linguistique et civilisation comparées des mondes indo-européens" (since 2008)

University Toulouse-II Le Mirail

- Yves Codet, Lecturer "Sanskrit et grammaire comparée" (since 1980s)

University Bordeaux-3 Michel de Montaigne
(never any permanent position)

- Anne-Marie Lévy-Lund (1973-96), in the Departments of linguistic studies or literatures
- Emilie Aussant (2002 to 2009), in the Department of linguistic studies

Research institutions

CNRS (Sanskritists whose career was for the largest or entire part at the CNRS as "Attaché", "Chargé" or "Directeur de recherches")

- Lilian Silburn (*c.* 1950-70)
- André Padoux (1959-61, then 1973-89)
- Kamaleswar Bhattacharya (1960-96)
- Indumati Dike Armelin (?-1993)
- Eugène Denis, S.J. (?-1986)
- Hélène Brunner-Lachaux (1963-80)
- Arion Roşu (1967-90)
- Pierre Rolland, Aix en Provence (1969-74)
- Brigitte Pagès/Tara Michaël (1980-2006)
- Gérard Colas (since 1985)
- Agathe Keller (since 2003)
- Emilie Aussant (since 2008)
- Silvia d'Intino (since 2009)

EFEO (limited to those who spent a significant period there; cf. www.efeo.fr/biographies/cadreinde.htm)

- Roger Billard (1952-79)
- Suzanne Siauve (1955-75)
- Jean Filliozat (Director from 1956 to 1977)
- N.R. Bhatt (1956-91)
- Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (1963-67)
- Claude Jacques (1963-73)
- Bruno Dagens (1969-86)
- Jacqueline Ver Eecke-Filliozat (1969-2007)
- Alix Raison (1970-91)
- François Grimal (since 1986)
- Gerdi Gerschheimer (1992-97)
- Charlotte Schmid (since 1999)
- Dominic Goodall (since 2000)
- François Patte (2004-07)
- Peter Skilling (since 2006)
- Arlo Griffiths (since 2008)

IFP

- The French staff of the Department of Indology at the IFP was composed of members of EFEO.

French Sanskrit scholars members of the Institut de France (election implying a lifelong membership)

- *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
- Louis Renou (elected in 1946)
- George Coedès (elected in 1958)
- Jean Filliozat (elected in 1966)
- Colette Caillat (elected in 1988)
- Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (elected in 2000)

Académie des Sciences morales et politiques

- Olivier Lacombe (elected in 1977)

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Research teams

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Sanskrit Studies in Japan

Shashibala

Sanskrit manuscripts crossed the boundaries of India along with the transmission of the Buddhist philosophy, art and thought, and reached Japan via Central Asia and China. Thousands of Sanskrit texts were translated into Khotanese, Tokharian, Uigur and Sogdian in the Central Asia, on their way to China and Japan. They travelled with scholars, pilgrims, adventurers and the politically ambitious, and prospered there often by virtue of state patronage. Sanskrit was carried not merely as a medium of communication but as a divine language in which were written sacred words of the Buddha, the words that could lead them towards enlightenment and upliftment.

In Japan, the emperors in search of transcendental values, embraced the tradition of Sūtras written in Sanskrit as a core for national unity and integrity. Today, a rich literary treasure of Sanskrit literature consisting of Dhāraṇīs, Tantras, Sūtras and other texts has been kept in Japan for nearly 1400 years. Entry of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures into Japan was their indentification with the central axis of human advance because Buddhism opened up unfathomed spheres of thought as soon as it reached Japan officially in CE 552.

Philosophical speculations opened up new avenues and horizons. The idea of *bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya* overwhelmed the minds to such an extent that the great Japanese Prince Shōtoku Taishi decided to carve out the first constitution of Japan, known as the Seventeen Article Constitution based on the Buddhist ideology. He himself wrote commentaries and lectured on *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda-sūtra* and *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra.* They can be heard in the daily recitation of the Japanese up to the day. It was the first time when Sanskrit manuscripts entered

Japan. With the coming of a new political system the country began to emerge out of a clan system to a state system.

The second milestone in the history of Japan as an emerging state stands during the reign of King Shōmu who used Sanskrit Sūtras as a core to create a unified country and himself became a supreme monarch. During mid-eighth century he dispatched Sanskrit Sūtras to all the provinces and ordered for their recitation on fixed days and time. And thus the whole of Japan began to unite. The system of education saw a phase of democratization in the ninth century with the creation of Sanskrit based alphabets invented by the monk scholar Kōbōdaishi.

The oldest printed item from China dated CE 757 is Sanskrit *mantra*s written for Goddess Pratisarā, in ornamental Rañjana script, concentrically around the figure. The world's oldest printed book, dated 11 May 868, is *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* on transcendental wisdom, written on paper, which is now kept at the British Museum.

Manuscripts in Gupta Script

UṢṆĪŚAVIJAYĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ AND PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-HṚDAYA-SŪTRA

The Sanskrit manuscripts found in Japan are much older than those found in India. *Uṣṇīśavijayā-dhāraṇī* and *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra,* written on palm leaves were taken to Japan from China in 609 which most probably belonged to Monk Yashi and before him they were in the possession of Ācārya Bodhidharma who had gone from India to China in CE 520. Certainly the manuscripts cannot be dated later than the first half of the sixth century being evidently written by an Indian scribe. In spite of their transmission from India to China and from there to Japan and being preserved there over the past fourteen centuries, they are still legible although having suffered partly some damage on the margins and partly due to the fading of ink. These manuscripts are primarily valuable for their palaeographic antiquity. The material and the techniques used and the style of writing resemble those which were used in India later also.

Prince Shōtoku Taishi drew up the first Japanese constitution in Seventeen Articles wherein the *triratna*: Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha were a fundamental factor. The new order was consecrated by the *Uṣṇīśavijayā-dhāraṇī* whose Sanskrit manuscript in Gupta script is still preserved at the Hōryuji monastery. Hōryuji means the temple for the flourishing of Dharma — *dharma-vardhana-vihāra*.

The manuscript of *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* was copied by Jiun Sonja in the eighteenth century, the last of the Sanskritists of Japan in the traditional style. He lived from CE 1718 to 1803. A saint of great learning and noble virtues, he stands unique in the history of Mantrayāna as the doyen of traditional Sanskrit studies in Japan, and in recognition thereof he was given the honorific title "Sonja" which means *ārya* or *arhat.* Nobody else in Japan was given this honour.

Manuscripts in Śāradā Script

Seven palm-leaf manuscripts in the Tōji, Kairyoji, Seiryoji, Kokiji, Gyokusenji, Shitennōji and Tennōji monasteries in the Kansai district are identified as a part of *Abhidharmakośa* of Sarvāstivāda by some of the Japanese scholars but Prof. Matsuda Kazunobu believes them to be the folios of *Lokaprajñapti*, a part of *Prajñapti-śāstra* of Ṣaḍpāda of Sarvāstivāda. *Prajñapti-śāstra* is found in Chinese and Tibetan versions also. *Lokaprajñapti* is a part of *Prajñapti-śāstra* of Maudgalyāyana, the other two parts are *Karaṇaprajñapti* and *Karmaprajñapti.* It is an important point to be noted that the Chinese translation is dated back to eleventh century CE while the Japanese manuscripts are dated ninth century CE.

1. The folio kept at the Tōji monastery speaks on five *skandha*s, aggregates.
2. The one that is in Kairyoji deals with the twenty-two *indriya*s.
3. The subject matter of the folio kept at Seiryoji is on *anusaya.*

4. The manuscript from Kokiji monastery talks about "end of *kalpa* and *sapta sūryodaya.*"
5. The manuscript from the Gyokusenji temple gives a description of mount Sumeru.
6. The manuscript kept at the Shitennōji monastery contains 170 folios. The manuscript kept at the Chionji monastery has 172 folios.
7. The subject matter of these (Gyokusenji and Shitennoji) manuscripts is teaching the effects of one's deeds. If someone follows *paritāpa dharma,* evil actions, then he goes to hell called *niraya* but those who follow *aparitāpa dharma,* they are bound to go to heavenly abodes called *sugati.* The lesson is taught through stories.

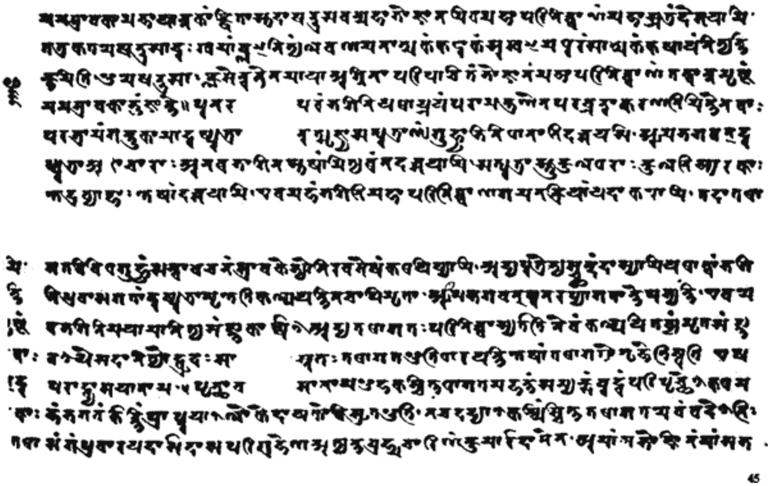
The folios preserved at the Gyokusenji temple are similar in content to Gilgit manuscript identified as *dharma skandha.*

Sanskrit manuscripts in the possession of the Faculty of Letters, University of Kyoto are: *Aparimitāyur-dhāraṇī, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, Abhidharmottarottara-tantra, Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and others.

Hymn to Thousand-armed Mañjuśrī

A complete Tantra devoted to Mañjuśrī was translated by Amoghavajra in CE 740 (Nj. 1044, T 1177a, K 1272, STP. 16.6378) on imperial orders. The Master explained the Sanskrit text and Hye-ch'o wrote it down. On 19 February CE 742 Vajra took the Sanskrit manuscript to an Indian teacher, gave it to Monk Mokṣānanda Bhaga[vān] for being returned to Ratnabodhi of India and Sri Lanka.

Along with the main Tantra, there is a Sanskrit hymn of 108 epithets of *Sahasrapātra Mañjuśrī* called Sempatsu Monju in Japanese in *Taisho Tripiñaka* (1177b, 20.776-77) in Siddham script. Its source stems from the T'ang dynasty. There is another hymn written in Siddham in Nagatani Hoshi's collection of Sanskrit *mantra*s brought from China by Kōbō Daishi which is based on some other source.



A page from a Sanskrit manuscript preserved
at the Reihokan Museum, Koyasan, eighth century

The following epithets of Mañjuśrī approve his relation to the state:

- *Mahāmaṇḍala-Śāsakaḥ*, ruler of the vast state
- *Rājyadadaḥ*, giver of the state
- *Cakravartī*, monarch
- *Jitāntakaḥ*, destroyer of the vanquisher

Devanāgarī transcription of the above text:

ॐ सहभाषितमात्रेण विद्या सर्वार्थ–साधनी।
मञ्जुघोषेण सत्वानामतुज्जत्पज रक्षा या ।।१।।

सर्वदुर्गतयः शान्ता कम्पिता मारवाहिनी।
देवाः प्रमुमुदुः सर्वे त्रस्ता भुवः विनायकाः।।२।।

अस्यां जपितमात्रायां धारण्यां शापशमन्याम्।
दशासंख्येयकोटयो हि मुक्ता संसारपारकाः।।३।।

मञ्जुश्रिया कुमारेण मञ्जुघोषप्रमुक्ताभा।
अभूद्वसुमती तदा सशैलवनकानना।।४।।

Mañjuśrī is a symbol of the *śastra* and Śāstra, the weapons and the scriptures. He looks lovely and pleasing and holds a

double- sword in his right hand and a manuscript of *Prajñāpāramitā* placed on a blue lotus in his left hand. The sword cuts across delusions and destroys all that stands against truth. Symbolically, it represents righteousness, justice, equity, love and creativity. The book is a symbol of transcendental wisdom. His ride, a golden haired liown is a symbol of action and energy.

SAMANTABHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-RĀJA

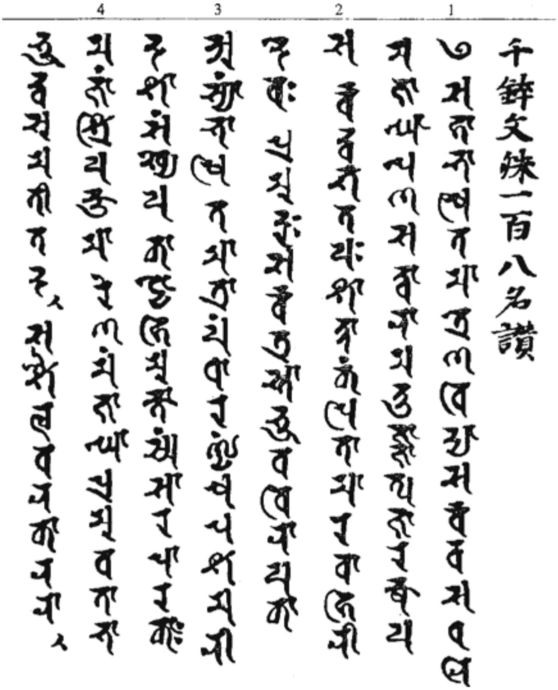
Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja is a prayer in melodious *doḍhaka* stanzas, which ranks among the most beautiful expressions of Buddhist piety and has been used for worship in all the countries of Mahāyāna Buddhism ever since the fourth century CE. It is found at the end of *Gaṇḍavyūha* in Sanskrit manuscripts as well as in the Chinese and Tibetan translations. It is also found as an independent text and was translated into the Chinese several times in the fourth and eighth centuries and into Tibetan in the ninth century. Its manuscripts are found in the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts at Paris and Cambridge. The Peking xylograph edition consists of 19 folios and gives the Sanskrit text in Lantsha and Tibetan characters. It was copied by Sage Jiun Sonja, a teacher of the Shingon sect, who was born in the 57th year of K'ang-hsi of Sheng-tsu of Ch'ing dynasty (CE 1718). He used to recite the text of *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja* and other texts daily. He was well versed both in exoteric and esoteric doctrines, particularly in the Vinaya teachings.

The pages of *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja* (shown on the next page) are taken from the xylograph reproduced by the International Academy of Indian Culture and presented to Prof. Raghu Vira by the Akademia Nauk of the USSR. The same xylographic edition is referred to in "A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Books and Manuscripts" by Bunyiu Nanjio. The text in Sanskrit is written in Siddham characters with lateral Chinese word-meanings, followed by three translations in Chinese. The first is by Amoghavajra (CE 746-71) of the T'ang dynasty, the second is a translation by Buddhabhadra (CE 420) of the Eastern Tsin dynasty and the third is by Prajña (CE 796-98) of the T'ang dynasty. Such Sanskrit texts translated into the

Chinese are the lost heritage of India. The Taishō edition of the *Tripiṭaka* comprises over 3360 works translated from Sanskrit.

The great sage Jiun Sonja was a man of great virtue. At the age of 14 he became thoroughly familiar with Siddham. He was a talented calligrapher. His calligraphy was highly regarded. His writings comprise a thousand fascicules (*kwans*). Some of them were published by the "Jiun Sonja One Hundred Fiftieth Death Anniversary Commemorative Society." International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, published some of his works in two volumes.

A large number of hymns were taken to Japan from China for recitation on special occasions. Special musical notations were written to chant the *mantra*s. This special genre of music is termed Bombai or Shōmyō. To this day there are special colleges of Buddhist music at Kyoto and Kōyasan.

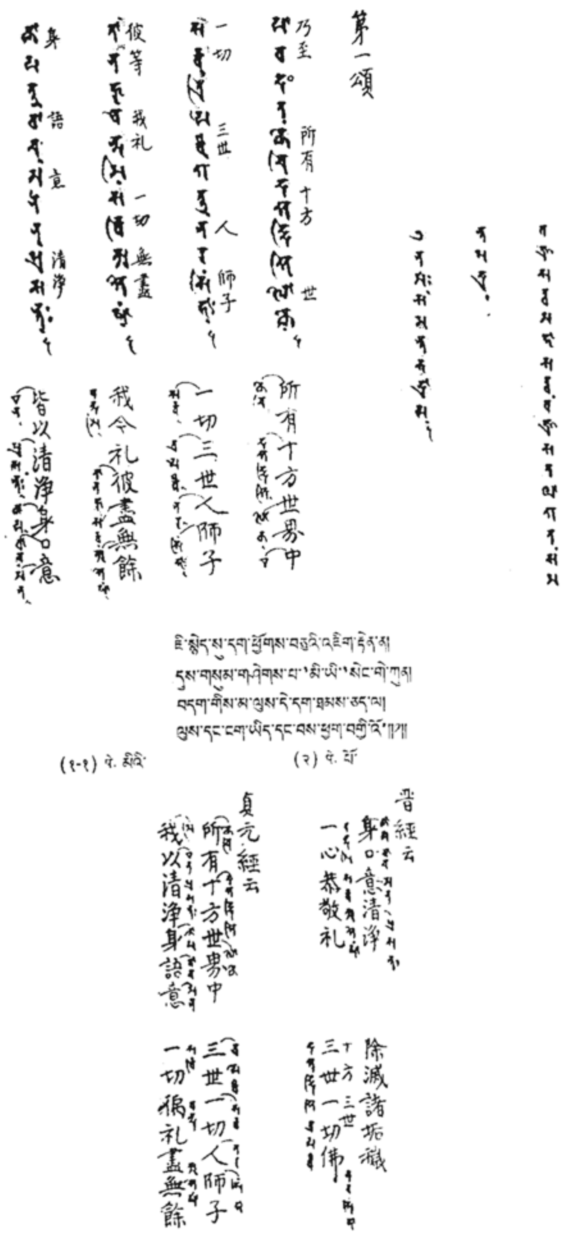


Siddham

Siddham, a form of Brāhmī, and an elder sister of Nāgarī, owed its popularity in China and Japan especially to the rise of the Mantrayāna Buddhism. It was used for writing Dhāraṇīs, Mantras and Bījākṣaras (seed syllables). It became a living script of such intrinsic value as to deserve a place in the realm of fine arts and is indeed considered on a par with painting. It is used for calligraphic and decorative purposes. A number of Chinese and Japanese monks devoted themselves to study the script and for more than a thousand years they guarded this treasure of Indian culture.

The Japanese write Mantras in artistic Siddham Nāgarī script which is a visual medium of an intrinsic dimension. It is the Nāgarī script of the eighth-ninth century CE which was introduced to Kōbō Daishi by the Kashmiri scholar Prajña. It has been designated by the Japanese as Shittan, a corruption of Sanskrit term Siddham. This form of Nāgarī has a calligraphic charm of its own, in expressive curves and subtle nuances of brush and ink. It is also written in sturdy and dynamic strokes of a wooden stylus.

Though Amoghavajra propagated the correct writing of the Indian script and evolved a unified system of transcribing Sanskrit sounds with Chinese characters yet the Tāntric teachers stressed that a *mantra* transcribed as accurately as possible could never be as efficacious as those written in the original script. So Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavarja and other masters wrote in a form of Brāhmī script that seems to have been widely used in India. The great monk scholar Kōbō Daishi was the first who began the study of Sanskrit letters known as Siddham in Japan. They were used in northern India from the sixth to twelfth century CE as the northern Brāhmī script. Most of the scriptural manuscripts carried to China during the *T'ang* dynasty (618-907) were written in Siddham characters.


第一頌
所有十方世界中
一切三世人師子
我今礼彼盡無餘
皆以清淨身口意
晋經云
身口意清淨
一心恭敬礼
除滅諸垢穢
十方三世一切佛
貞元經云
所有十方世界中
三世一切人師子
我以清淨身語意
一切徧礼盡無餘

Thus the script became the style of writing favoured by the Chinese and the Japanese Buddhists for writing Mantras and Dhāraṇīs which has remained in use till the present day.

The script was used in India around CE 1000 as has been recorded by the Arab scholar Al-Beruni:

> The most generally known alphabet is called Siddhamātrkā which by some is considered as originating from Kashmir. . . . But it is also used in Varanasi. . . . The same writing is used in Madhyadeśa. . . .

The term Siddham is also mentioned by I-Ching:

> They (Indians) begin their (Sanskrit) study with the His-t'ang-chang or Siddham writing tables. This book is also called *his-ti-ra-su-tu* (*siddhirastu*). . . . This means success and good luck.

Each time a teacher used to write a new paradigm on the writing board he would first write at the top *siddham* or *siddhirastu*. This passage gives the reason why the script was known as Siddham.

The word *siddham* became a common parlance, a designation for script, a colloquial equivalent of the literary word *lipi* and the Chinese pilgrims adopted this term *siddham* for the form of the Indian script that they found in use there in the seventh-ninth century. Since the boards used for teaching this script were called *siddham* writing boards this term was later used as the title of books containing elementary writing lessons.

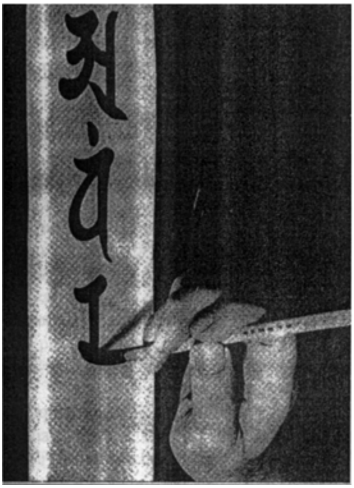
A Portrait and signature of the Indian scholar Śubhakarasiṃha from a ninth century scroll

Siddham written by a Japanese calligrapher

In China and Japan the name Brāhmī actually refers to the Siddham script. Another northern-Brāhmī-derived script is Tibetan devised for writing translations of Indian texts around the seventh century CE. The Haṅgul writing system of Korea is thought to have been created under the influence of the Tibetan script which itself is based on north Indian time of Brāhmī.

Siddham Letters as Objects of Worship

Bījākṣaras, the symbolic syllables written in Shittan are objects of worship when they represent the essence of the divine beings, such as "अ" is written for Agni, "च" for Candra, "इ" for Indra and so on. Sūrya in Japan represents the time aspect of human life, and along with Candra it denotes eternity in cosmic order. The seed syllables are placed on lotus flowers to indicate their divine origin.



Writing Siddham with brush

Writing with a stylus

"*ha*" written in Siddham artistically by a Japanese artist

Many Japanese who do not know Sanskrit are familiar with the Indian Siddham letters. Thus Buddhist Sūtras inspired the finest calligraphy and printing styles in Japan. No book was printed outside a temple. The first Japanese manuscript is a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra,* by Shōtoku Taishi (CE 573-621). He was a symbol of the speical relationship between Buddhism and the state. The earliest surviving example of printed matter in Japan is *Hyamanto darani, One Million Pagoḍā Dhāraṇī,* produced between CE 764 and 770 by the order of Empress Shōtoku as thanksgiving for the defeat of a rebellion. Emperor Shōmu (CE 701-56) strongly promoted copying the entire Buddhist *Tripiṭaka.* Thus *sūtra* copying became a major industry in Japan. Wooden tablets called *sotōba*s, i.e. *stūpa*s, written in Siddham letters are often found in cemeteries.

The Japanese alphabets Katakana and Hiragana are based on the Sanskrit sound sequence: *a, i, u, e, o, ka, ki, ku, ke, ko . . . .* The alphabets were devised by the great monk Kōbō Daishi who began to democratise education by founding a school for the children of the common people. Hiragana alphabets are the cursive form which was woven into the *Iroha* poem. *Iroha uta* contains 47 letters, each letter occurring only once. It was a literary marvel. It is a free translation of a Buddhist poem composed in ancient India:

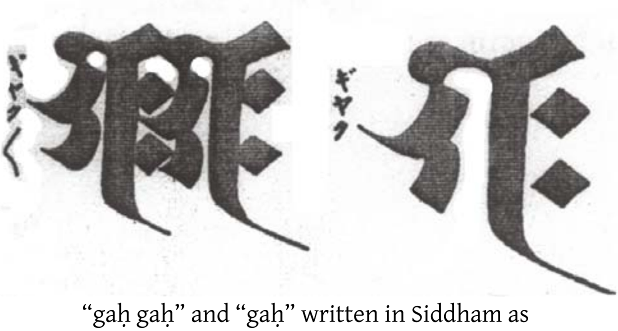
> *sarve saṃskārāḥ anityāḥ utpadavyayadharmiṇaḥ*|
> *teṣām vyūpāsamaḥ sukham avadat mahāśramaṇaḥ*||

The new syllabary was a revolutionary step in Japan's civilization. It is called *dhvani pañcāśikā.* To this day every Japanese begins his education with this *Iroha* poem. Sometimes dictionaries are arranged in this sequence.

Sanskrit is a common linguistic inheritance of India and Japan. In Japan *bandai* was used in place of 'yours truly' at the end of a letter. It is Sanskrit *vande.* The Japanese word *tsunumi* for drum is Sanskrit *dundubhi.*

Usage of Indian script as sacred has an uninterrupted history in Japan. The above illustration is 'अ' calligraphed by Kakuban (CE 1095-1143). The initial letter 'अ' is emerging from a pristine white eight-petalled lotus, situated on the adamantine place of the *vajra*. The sound symbol 'अ' is prime among all letters and the supreme immutable: *akṣarāṇām akāro 'smi* (*Gītā* 10.33).

As objects of worship "a" for Agni and "I" for Indra written in Siddham as seed syllables for the two deities



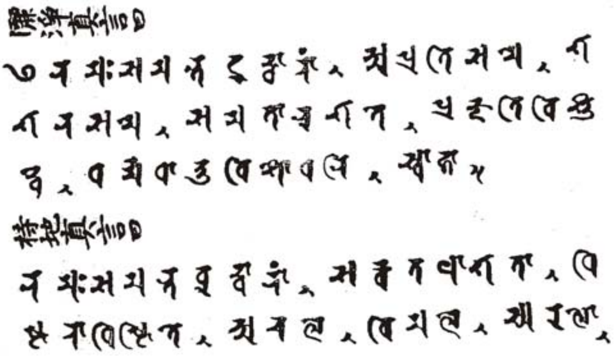
"gaḥ gaḥ" and "gaḥ" written in Siddham as seed syllables for dual Gaṇapati and Gaṇapati

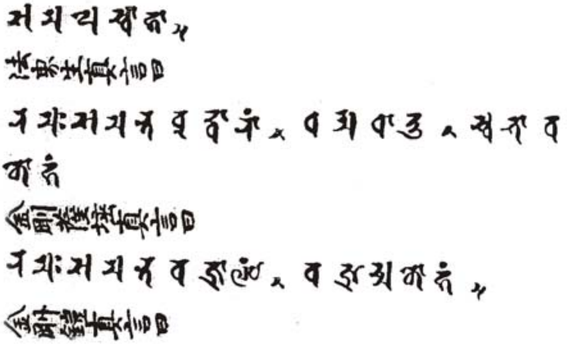
Prof. Nagara is one of the most outstanding living masters of Siddham calligraphy. His brush bruises against the canvas, shaping itself in the reflexion of dynamism. Prof. Nagara tries to reach out to the Buddha in his calligraphy of force and strength. As a professor of design in an institute of technology his calligraphy is the sound mingling with the mind and merging with mists drifting in mountain vales.

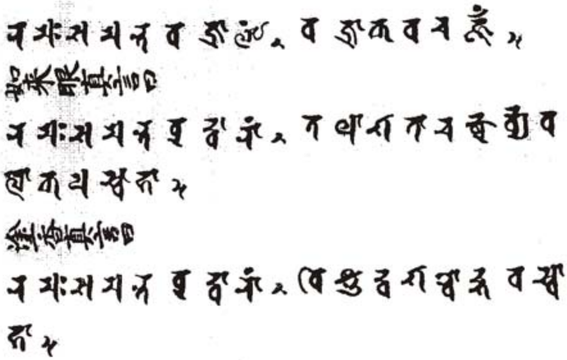
Through the storming calligraphy the artist portrays the tempestuous mind of Lord Śiva, delimited by free and vigorous strokes. The holy waters of the river Gaṅgā meander across the dark and majestic Himalayas in a running brush in its indomitable *tāṇḍava.*

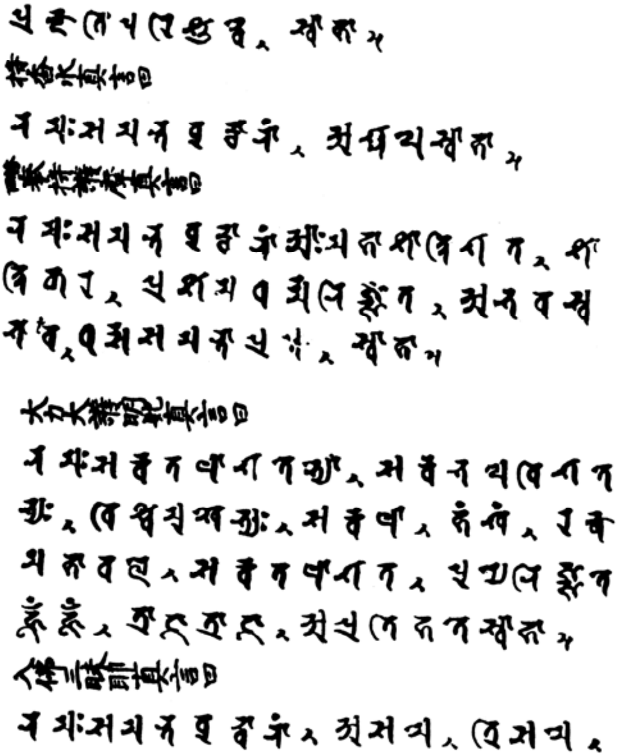
Sanskrit alphabets according to Hiragana and Katakana sound sequence

Siddham letters written by a modern Japanese calligrapher

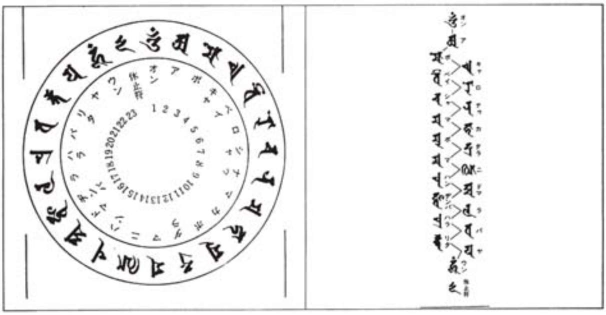

灑淨真言曰
持地真言曰


法界生真言曰
金剛薩埵真言曰
金剛鎧真言曰


如來眼真言曰
塗香真言曰



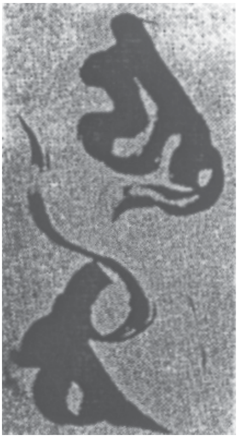
Mantras witten by Kōbō Daishi



A Dhāraṇī written in Sanskrit artistically

Vāyu is written in simple pure lines, rustling in the mind as cosmic breath. As the wind blows unobstructed in the sky, so do the supernatural powers of the Buddha emancipate all beings. The energy of Vāyu in the space of 'Nothingness' expresses the intensity to be free from all things.

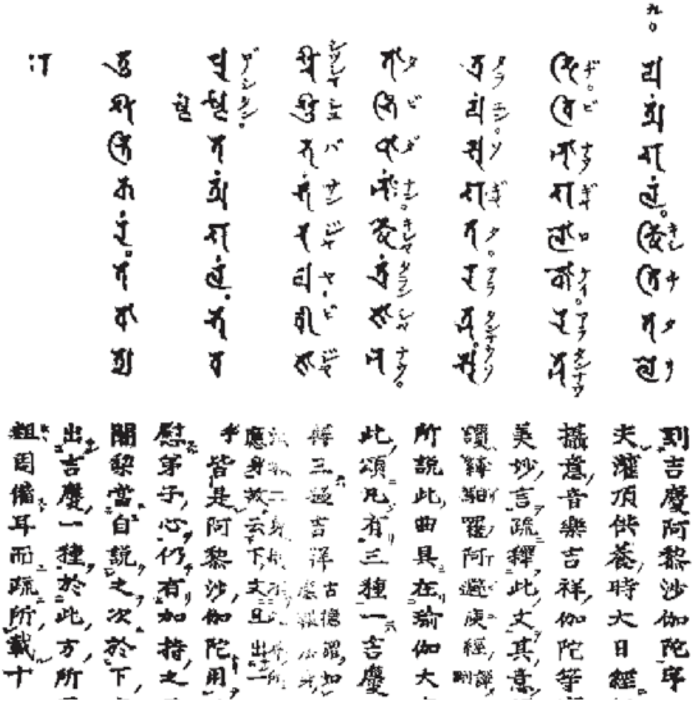
Śiva written in three different styles by Prof. Nagara



Vāyu

Bhaiṣajya

Bhaiṣajya, the symbol of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of healing, is written in monumental, absolutely final and sweeping characters in a downward movement. It has the boldness of a sword that defends the faith. It is the dance of hand on paper.



ङ्ग
क्षेत्रं जनैश्च शुभसंचयबीजपुष्टैस् तन्म लं भवतु शान्तिकरं तवाद्य।।१९।।

Devanāgarī transcription of the following *maṅgala-gāthā* in Siddham script with Kana transcription, published in the Edo period.

Thus it may be concluded that languages do not stand in isolation. They bear an aura around them. Geographical features, ways of living and thinking of the people, their historical and cultural backgrounds, customs and beliefs

influence the development of languages. Moreover, they advance with advancement of civilizations; higher levels of thought, new discoveries and experiences constantly require coining of new terms that in turn enrich the languages.

Sanskrit Studies in Nepal

Radhavallabh Tripathi

Nepal was held as a prestigious seat of learning right from the Vedic period. Sanskrit studies were cultivated here in *gurukula*s, *āśrama*s and *pāṭhaśālā*s from the hoary past. The country of Nepal happens to be associated with King Janaka, a great seeker of spiritual knowledge during the Upaniṣadic period. It is also associated with *brahmajñānin*s and *brahmavādin*s like Yājñavalkya and Gārgī.

The valley of Nepal has many holy places described in the Purāṇas. Lumbinī forest — the birthplace of Gautama, the Buddha — and Svargadvāra where the Pāṇḍavas are believed to have reached for their final journey — the *mahāprasthāna* — are also worth mentioning.

Various schools of Buddhism have been flourishing in Nepal in the vicinity of the Himalayas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Baddhakahā* (*Bṛhatkathā*), these three classics have yielded an everlasting influence on the literary and cultural traditions of this country. Nepal has been mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature, and India's relationship with this country dates from the distant past. Nepal finds mention in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* and *Atharvaśīrṣa Upaniṣad*. The *Mahābhārata* describes the *digvijayayātrā* of Karṇa to Nepal. The *Prayāgapraśasti* of Samudragupta refers to this country. The Nepālamāhātmya under *Skanda Purāṇa* presents an encyclopaedic account of the topology of Nepal. *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and *Śabdārthacintāmaṇi* also refer to Nepal.

The period of the reign of Licchavi kings in Nepal marks the golden age of the history of this country. It is during this period that a vast number of inscriptions and various records on copperplates, etc. were produced here in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit inscriptions from Nepal provide a rich source for study of history and culture of this country. R. Gnoli has done pioneering work on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Nepal. He published 89 such inscriptions in Roman. The Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan has brought out the Devanāgarī editions of these inscriptions with English and Hindi translation by Krishna Dev Aggrawal.

Nepal offers a rich heritage of Sanskrit manuscripts. A manuscript of one of the earliest Sanskrit versions of *Baddhakahā* (*Bṛhatkathā*) of Guṇāḍhya entitled *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* by Buddhasvāmin was discovered in Nepal. The French translation of *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* by Lacote and Renou appeared from Paris in 1908. Lacote located the period of its composition around eighth-ninth centuries CE. However, V.S. Aggrawal, who brought out the Indian edition with annotations in 1974, was in favour of placing it around fifth century CE.

Sanskrit Education in Nepal

During the past century, the Sanskrit *vidyālaya*s at Narayan Hiti, Dinla (Bhojapur) and Ranipokhari (Kathmandu) were reputed institutions for traditional Sanskrit learning. The Tribhuvan University of Nepal was established in 1959 and it continued to affiliate traditional institutions of Sanskrit learning besides running its own postgraduate courses in Sanskrit, Buddhist studies and Epigraphy.

Till the recent past, Tribhuvan University was the only university and Sanskrit education in this university was imparted up to the postgraduate level. Way back in 1967, a resolution for establishment of a Sanskrit university was adopted in a conference of scholars, and the Government of Nepal accepting the recommendations of the conference decided to found a Sanskrit university in 1970. The university for Sanskrit in Nepal came into existence in the year 1972. It was named Mahendra Sanskrit Vishvavidyalya. With the declaration of a republic system in Nepal, the university has now been re-named as Nepal Sanskrit University.

The central office and the main campus of the university are located at Beljhundi in Dang in the valley of Nepal with 220.89 hectares of land at Dang and 904.839 hectares in Deukhuri Valley.

The syllabi at this university incorporates study of four Vedas, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Jyotiṣa, Sāhitya, Sarvadarśana, Vedānta, Dharmaśāstra, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, Tantra and the Buddhist philosophy. The university imparts teaching at masters' level (Acharya in Sanskrit) in 18 subjects. Besides the formal research leading to Vidyāvāridhi (Ph.D.) degree, informal research in the form of short-term and long-term projects, critical editing of manuscripts and translations of Sanskrit texts are promoted.

The medium of instruction is Sanskrit. There is emphasis on the study of Yoga and Āyurveda along with Sanskrit. Vocational studies under Sanskrit are zealously pursued. A sizeable number of students are attracted to *Śikṣāśāstrī* — a professional course for teachers' training.

Like its counterparts in India, Nepal Sanskrit University is also trying to cultivate Sanskrit as a vehicle for communication by adopting the latest technologies and imbibing modern methodologies and new trends of research. This is reflected in the recent publications by some of the teachers at this university. Two teachers, Hariprasad Sharma Acharya and Sthaneshwar Gautam, have published a manual on research methodology in Sanskrit — *Anusandhānaprakāśaḥ* — while Dr. Ramesh Prasad Dhakal has laboured hard to produce a volume on communicative Sanskrit entitled *Sanskrit Śikṣā ko Rāmabāṇa* — a manual for learning Sanskrit within 50 days.

The university has 13 constituent campuses located in diverse regions of Nepal and has four *vidyāpīṭha*s (colleges) affiliated to it.

There were 3,700 students in all the campuses of the university during the session 2010-11. The university organized its fourth convocation on 20 April 2011 and degrees for its

various courses were awarded to as many as 4,087 students who were enrolled between 2000-09.

Traditional Paṇḍits

Rangnath Paudel is a diplomat and scholar of legendary fame. He was born at Makhantol in Kathmandu in VS 1830 (CE 1773). He studied at Benares, and was conferred with the title of 'Paṇḍitarāja' there in VS 1862 (CE 1805). Honoured by the royal court, he served as the Prime Minisiter of Nepal (CE 1837-38). He has authored a work on polity and diplomacy entitled *Rājavidhānasāra*. He was deeply influenced by *Kāmandaka* and *Pañcatantra*. His vast erudition and learning are exemplified by the *Dīpikā* commentary that he wrote on *Karpūrastava*.

Chavilal Suri was son of Devilal. He has authored four books in Sanskrit — *Sundaracarita* and *Kuśalodaya* (both plays), *Viraktitaraṅgiṇī* (*khaṇḍakāvya*) and *Vṛttālaṃkāra* (treatises of Prosody. 1955, 1963 VS). Both of his plays — *Sundaracarita* and *Kuśalodaya* have been translated into the Nepali. Max Müller had acknowledged the receipt of three of his works and appreciated his compositions in a detailed letter to Chavilal Suri.

Jagannath Arjyal (CE 1850-1940) studied *Laghusiddhānta-kaumudī* and other texts at his home, and went to Vrindavan and then Benares for higher studies. After his return to Nepal, he had been teaching at his house, and then at a *pāṭhaśālā* in a nearby village. His sons-in-law, Hemnath Ghimire and Shashidhar Rijyal, were also well-known paṇḍits.

Vishvanath Rimal (CE 1856-1918) is known for his command over Vyākaraṇa. He was born in a village near Kathmandu. He studied up to Prathamā level at the local *pāṭhaśālā* and moved to Benares for further studies. At the age of 14 he passed the Madhyamā examination from Benares. Besides Vyākaraṇa at Śāstrī level, he opted for Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya. He served as a teacher in Ranipokhari Pradhan Sanskrit Pathashala. His *śāstrārtha* (intellectual debate) with Gangadatta Gautam in the court of Vir Shamsher is well known. He has authored a number of small treatises on *karmakāṇḍa* which have been

reproduced by Bhuphari Paudel (1997: 55-66). He is known to have given 84 interpretations of the first stanza of the *Śrīmadbhāgavatam* and a manuscript on the *Bhāgavata* was also available. He was also very popular for his discourses (*pravacanas)* on *Śrīmadbhāgavatam.* He became a very close friend of the father of Krishna Prasad Ghimire. His son, Shivnath Rimal, studied Āyurveda texts at Calcutta and Benares and became a *rājavaidya*. During the last days of his life he remained depressed due to some tussle in the family and finally committed suicide by drowning himself in the waters of the pond of Ranipokhari Pathashala where he served as a teacher.

Durganath Sharma Adhikari is known for his command over Tantra. Grandson of Ganeshdatta and son of Lilanath, he was born in the district of Bhaktapur. He studied the *karmakāṇḍa* and Dharmaśāstra at his home. He was one of the first traditional paṇḍits in Nepal who also studied English and Persian. Scholars from Benares were very much influenced by his scholarship. He entered into debate (*śāstrārtha*) with the paṇḍits of his times on several occasions.

Dadhiram Paudel was born around CE 1896 and expired in CE 1950. He was one of the favourite disciples of Vishvanath Rimal. He also served as a teacher in the royal court of Nepal for tutoring the heir apparent Mahendra Vir Vikram who studied *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*, *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañcatantra* under him.

Teka Nath Paudel (CE 1871-1950) is known for his scholarship in Vyākaraṇa and Dharmaśāstra. He passed *madhyamā* and *upādhyāya* examinations in Vyākaraṇa from Sanskrit College, Benares, in 1904 and 1910. Hemraj Ghimire (CE 1892-1975) was born in the village of Dhurkot in the district of Gulmi in Lumbinī region. He was awarded the degree of *upādhyāya* by the Benares Sanskrit College. He is known by several of his disciples. He composed two poems in Sanskrit — *Gurorabhyarthanā* and *Upahārapuṣpāñjaliḥ*. (Both these poems have been reproduced by Bhuphari Paudel (pp. 112-17).)

Padma Prasad Bhattarai (CE 1896-1963) studied with the greatest paṇḍits of Nepal and Kāśī, like Vamacharan Bhattacharya, Gopinath Kaviraj, Subrahmanya Shastri and

Lakshman Shastri Dravid. He was highly regarded by his *gurus*. After passing Madhyamā in Sāhitya and Vyākaraṇa from Ranipokhari Sanskrit Pathashala, he moved to Benares for further studies. After getting Nyāyācārya degree there he worked for the award of the degree of Ph.D. under the guidance of Gopinath Kaviraj. He learned the Bengali and Kannada languages also. He was appointed as principal of the Marwari Sanskrit College of Benares in 1929 and subsequently also served in Goenka Sanskrit College and Sannyasi Sanskrit College there. He came back to Nepal and worked as the vice-principal in the Government Sanskrit College from 1952 here. From 1959 to 1965 he worked as the head of the Sanskrit department at the Tribhuvan University of Nepal. He was widely acclaimed and honoured for his scholarship and the large number of his students he had taught. He was also a good poet and published a number of articles in Sanskrit periodicals. Uma Nath Acharya (CE 1900-60) has composed *Saṃhitāsāravāṅmayī* and many other works. Kaviratna Naranath Acharya (CE 1905-88) and Kaviraj Tirtha Prasad Acharya (1917) have contributed to the development of Sanskrit education in Nepal by establishing *gurukulas*. The degrees of Navyanyāyācārya (1944), Nyāyācārya, Sāhityācārya (1948) as well as M.A. (1955) were conferred on Haridev Mishra (CE 1926-91). He was awarded Ph.D by the Banaras Hindu University for his thesis "A Critical Study of Sanskrit Grammar." Veteran Scholars like Padma Prasad Bhattarai and Taracharan Bhattacharya have been his *gurus*. He served in the Government Sanskrit College of Nepal from 1960 and later on was appointed in Tribhuvan University. He also worked as a visiting professor in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Banares. Purushottam Bhattarai (1928) is known as a scholar of Nyāya. Harisharan Upadhyaya (1931) is a great scholar of Nimbārka-Vedānta. He studied at Nimbarka Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya at Vrindavan. He contributed poems and articles for the *Bhāratī, Divyajyotiḥ, Jayatu Saṃskṛtam* and other periodicals of Sanskrit and published several books in Sanskrit. His writings include — *Sabhyatāprakāśaḥ* (critique of civilization), *Śabdabrahmaśatakam, Mahendravijayaśatakam* (unpublished), *Indirāśatakam* (unpublished) and

Nimbārkābhidhānam (a play). He wrote a number of books in Nepali, which include a biography of saint Bhagavatsharan, a play on Hinduism which was staged and a treatise on the Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal. He started teaching from 1901 and served as head of the department in Nimbarka Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya from 1906 onward.

Harisharan Upadhyaya was born in 1931. He played an important role in the Nepalese politics also. He remained specially in contact with Swami Karapatriji and Swami Niranjan Dev — the Shankaracharya of Puri. He has worked on Sanskrit scholars and poets of Braja for his Ph.D degree. He composed many poems and articles in Sanskrit, some of which have been reproduced by Bhup Hari.

Devidatta Parajuli (1873) studied at Ranipokhari Pathashala for this Prathamā and then moved to Benares, studied there up to Ācārya (of Sāhitya) level. He was a student of M.M. Gangadhar Shastri and Nityanand Parvatiya. After having Sāhityācārya degree, he worked with a number of publishers for correcting Sanskrit books under print, and specially corrected the *Mahābhāṣya*. He is known as a poet of Nepali and has been editing a magazine *Sundarī* and also another magazine in Sanskrit *Sūktisudhā.* He had been teaching at Rajkiya Pathashala after coming back to Nepal and had written some works on Sanskrit composition and grammar, notable among them are *Racanācandrodaya, Vyākaraṇacandrikā* and *Madhyacandrikā.* He also wrote some articles in Sanskrit.

Kulachandra Gautam, son of Ramakant, was born in Jivanpur village of Dhadin district, but moved to Benares with his father at the age of 12. From Prathamā to Sāhityācārya he studied there. Veterans like M.M. Gangadhar Shastri and Ram Shastri Telang were his *guru*s. He was especially adept in metrical composing and had answered all the questions in verses in his Ācārya examination. As a result he was called for Śalākā Parīkṣā by a board of examiners. His poetic skills are evinced from his writings like *Bhāgavatamañjarī, Gaṅgāgauravam, Kṛṣṇakarṇābharaṇam*, etc. He translated Tulasīdāsa's epic in Nepali, and wrote many other works on Sanskrit studies like

Amarakośa (Nepali translation), *Alaṃkāracandrodaya*, *Rāghavālaṅkāra*, etc. Some of his works like *Harivarivaśyā* remain unpublished. After his demise in 1985, Government of Nepal issued a postal stamp in his memory.

Dadhiram Marasini (1882) studied at Benares. He has composed *Śrīrāmacaritāmṛtam* in 7 cantos, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-caritāmṛtam* and a dozen *stotra-kāvya*s out of which only *Śrīrāmacaritāmṛtam* is published. Twelve of his books in Nepali on religious subjects are published. Somnath Sigdel (1884) is one of the renowned scholars from Nepal. His father Jagannath Sigdel was a good paṇḍit of Vyākaraṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Jyotiṣa. He studied at Ranipokhari Sanskrit Pathashala, and then obtained the degree of *Upādhyāya* in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika from the Queens College Benares as well as Kāvyatīrtha from Calcutta. He composed *Sundaracampūḥ*, *Ādarśarāghavapuṣpāñjaliḥ* as well as text books like *Prati-saṃsakṛta Siddhāntakaumudī. Madhyacandrikā, Laghucandrikā Sāhityapradīpa*, etc. Many of his books are in Nepali. He also composed Mahākāvya *Ādarśarāghava* in Nepali. The Government of Nepal issued a postal stamp in his memory after his demise in 1972.

A number of veteran paṇḍits lived and were born in the area of Jhāṅgājholī in Nepal. Out of them, Jagannatha Bhattarai, Ramanath Bhattarai, Dillishavar Bhattarai, Muktinatha Dahal, Vishnuvinod Dahal, Min Kumar Dahal and Govinda Prasad Bhattarai (CE 1911-85) are worth mentioning. Jagannatha Bhattarai (1886) is one of the leading poets of Nepali. He was a scholar of Vyākaraṇa, Tantra and Sāhitya. Govinda Prasad Bhattarai has composed *Pṛthvīmahendramahākāvya* and many poetic works in Sanskrit and Nepali. He also translated Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Nepali. His research work on "Viṣṇu in Veda" lies unpublished. Nayaraj Pant (1913) studied at Benares and founded his own *pāṭhaśālā*. He has done significant researches on ancient documents of Nepal and has 20 works to his credit in Nepali. He was awarded the Madan Puraskar of Rs. 50,000 for his work *Licchavi Saṃvat ko Nirṇaya*.

Bharatraj Sharma (1925) has written *Mahendrodaya Mahākāvya*. His other published works in Sanskrit are *Giribālam*

and *Motīvṛttam* — both *khaṇḍakāvya*s. Some of his works have not been published; notable amongst them are — K*avitāvallī* and *Kṛṣṇābhisarpaṇam* — both *kāvya*s and a translation of the poems of Chandani Shah. He has produced several literary and scholarly works in Nepali also. Madhav Bhattarai (1942) has worked on Sanskrit *māhākavya*s of Nepali poets for his Ph.D degree and has composed many beautiful poems. Vaiyakaran Nepal (1855-1922) has written many works in Sanskrit.

Rohini Prasad Bhattarai (1904), Hari Prasad Paudel (1923) and Gyan Mani Nepal (1933) are some other reputed scholars from Nepal.

Recent Important Publications

Hariprasad Sharma Acharya has a voluminous Sanskrit commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini to his credit. Krishnaprasad Bhattarai presented a critical edition of Ambikākhaṇḍa of *Skanda Purāṇa* on the basis of three manuscripts from the National Archives of Nepal. In a detailed introduction to this edition he has identified the sacred places of Nepal like the Pāśupati temple, Gokarṇa, Gaurīśikhara, Alaṃkāradhārā, Nīlakuṇda, etc. as described in his part of the Purāṇa. Hariprasad Sharma Acharya and Sthaneshwar Gautam have produced a monograph on research methodology in Sanskrit entitled *Anusandhānaprakāśa*. The etymological dictionary of Nepali language (*Nepālī Bhāṣā ko Vyutpattikośa*) compiled by Sthaneshwar Gautam brings out the interrelationships between Nepali and Sanskrit. Raghunath Nepal and Keshav Sharan Aryal — two young traditional scholars — have composed a Sanskrit commentary on *Nyāya-siddhantamuktāvalī* along with notes and translation in Nepali. Sthaneshwar Gautam has written a commentary on the Brahmakāṇda of *Vākyapadīya* in Nepali.

Trends in Research

Research works on almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature have been produced in Nepal. *Kārtavīryodaya Mahākāvya* — a modern *magnum opus* — has occupied the attention of a number of researchers, and grammatical as well

as literary studies on it are being taken as a research subject for the degree of Vidyavāridhi (Ph.D) at Nepal Sanskrit University.

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Sanskrit Studies in Poland After the Second World War[1]

Anna Trynkowska

Academic interest in Sanskrit studies began in Poland as early as the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the real tradition of scholarly research in this field was started only in the first half of the twentieth century by such eminent figures as Andrzej Gawroński (1885-1927), Stanisław Schayer (1899-1941) and Helena Willman-Grabowska (1870-1957). This report presents the post-war achievements of their successors in four Polish university centres: the Chair of South Asian Studies, University of Warsaw; the Department of Indian Studies, Jagiellonian University in Cracow; the Department of Indian Philology, University of Wrocław; and the South Asian Studies Unit, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

1 In preparing this report, I have used, among other sources, the following articles: M. Mejor: "Sanskrit Studies in Poland", in: *Teaching on India in Central and Eastern Europe: Contributions to the 1st Central & Eastern European Indological Conference on Regional Cooperation (Warsaw, 15-17 September 2005)*, eds. D. Stasik and A. Trynkowska, Warsaw, 2007, pp. 36-43; L. Sudyka: "Indian Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow", ibidem, pp. 78-83; J. Sachse: "Indological Studies at the University of Wrocław", ibidem, pp. 69-77; I. Milewska: "Sanskrit Studies in Kraków", *Cracow Indological Studies* I (1995), pp. 5-11. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Danuta Stasik, the Head of the Chair of South Asian Studies, University of Warsaw; Prof. Marek Mejor, the Head of the Buddhist Studies Unit, University of Warsaw and the Head of the South Asian Studies Unit, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań; Prof. Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz, the Head of the Department of Indian Studies, Jagiellonian University in Cracow; Prof. Joanna Sachse, the Head of the Department of Indian Philology, University of Wrocław; and Dr. Sven Sellmer for their invaluable help.

Sanskrit studies were formally introduced into the University of Warsaw by Stanisław Schayer, the founding father of the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Seminar of Indian Philology among its organisational units (1932). However, the development of the discipline was temporarily checked by the outbreak of the Second World War; a German air raid on 3 September 1939 resulted in the destruction of the building of the institute together with its library.

After the war, the reintroduction of Sanskrit studies into the reopened institute was possible only in 1953, when Prof. Eugeniusz Słuszkiewicz (1901-81) took charge of its newly established Chair of Indian Philology.

Prof. Słuszkiewicz, a student of Jan Rozwadowski, Andrzej Gawroński, Antoine Meillet, Sylvain Lèvi, Louis Finot and Alfred Foucher, was a specialist in Indo-European linguistics, Indian studies and Armenian studies. His post-war publications include an anthology of Indian and Austronesian aphorisms, co-translated (with R. Stiller) into Polish: *Mądrości z palmowego liścia* (*Words of Wisdom from Palm Leaves*), Warszawa, 1959; an outline of Buddhism: *Budda i jego nauka* (*The Buddha and His Teachings*), Warszawa, 1965; a compendium of ancient Indian culture: *Pradzieje i legendy Indii* (*The Ancient History and Legends of India*), Warszawa, 1980 (2nd rev. edn.: 2001); and a survey of Buddhist narrative literature: *Opowieści buddyjskie* (*Buddhist Tales*), Warszawa, 1982. He was also the Head of the Chair of Indo-European Linguistics of the Faculty of Humanities, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.[2]

The development of Sanskrit studies at the University of Warsaw owes much to Andrzej Ługowski (1938-2005), one of Prof. Słuszkiewicz's students. An outstanding linguist and erudite, he was the strict and demanding Sanskrit teacher of the whole next generation of Warsaw specialists in Indian studies, equally feared, esteemed and beloved by his students.

2 His professional achievements were celebrated by his students and colleagues in *Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci Eugeniusza Słuszkiewicza* (*Eugeniusz Słuszkiewicz Commemoration Volume*), Warszawa, 1974.

His academic interests lay mainly in the fields of Indo-European linguistics and Vedic studies; however, he also co-translated (with B. Grabowska) into Polish Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*: *Dźajadewa. Pieśń o Krysznie Pasterzu* (*Jayadeva: The Song of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd*), Warszawa, 1996.[3]

At present, the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw[4] employs eight specialists in Sanskrit studies, among whom seven are staff members of the Chair of South Asian Studies (as the Chair of Indian Philology was eventually renamed).[5]

Prof. Maria Krzysztof Byrski, another student of Prof. Słuszkiewicz, is a specialist in Classical Indian drama and theatre. He received his PhD degree from Banaras Hindu University in 1966; his thesis was published as *Concept of Ancient Indian Theatre*, New Delhi, 1974. His other major works are *Methodology of the Analysis of Sanskrit Drama*, Warszawa, 1979 (2nd rev. edn.: Delhi, 1997), as well as excellent Polish translations of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Kāmasūtra*, published jointly as *Manu Swajambhuwa: Manusmryti czyli Traktat o zacności. Watsjajana Mallanaga: Kamasutra czyli Traktat o miłowaniu* (*Manu Svayaṃbhuva: Manusmṛti, or, The Treatise on Virtue. Vātsyāyana Mallanāga: Kāmasūtra, or, The Treatise on Love*), Warszawa, 1985. He was the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to India, Nepal and Sri Lanka in the years 1993-96 and the Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw in the years 1996-2002.[6]

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3 His professional achievements were celebrated in *Guru-dāna-mañjarī. Tom artykułów ofiarowanych Andrzejowi Ługowskiemu przez grono Jego uczniów i współpracowników z okazji 65 urodzin* (*A volume presented to Andrzej Ługowski by his students and colleagues on the occasion of his 65th birthday*), *Studia Indologiczne* 10 (2003).

4 The Institute of Oriental Studies became one of the faculties of the university and was accordingly renamed in 2008.

5 For more information on the chair, see http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/indologia/index.htm.

6 For more information on his professional career and achievements, see *Theatrum Mirabiliorum Indiae Orientalis: A Volume to Celebrate the 70th*

Prof. Marek Mejor is a specialist in Buddhist studies. His PhD thesis was published as *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur*, Stuttgart, 1991. His other major work is *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā: Studies and Materials*, Tokyo, 1992. He also authored an outline history of Buddhism in India: *Buddyzm* (*Buddhism*), Warszawa, 1980 (2nd rev. edn.: 2001); an anthology of Buddhist prayers, translated into Polish from the original Pāli, Sanskrit and Tibetan: *Jak modlą się buddyści. Antologia modlitwy buddyjskiej* (*Buddhist Prayer: An Anthology*), Warszawa, 2004; and an introduction to Sanskrit grammar: *Sanskryt* (*Sanskrit*), Warszawa, 2000 (2nd rev. edn.: 2004). In 2008, he left the Chair of South Asian Studies to become the founder and the Head of the Buddhist Studies Unit, a separate interdisciplinary research unit within the structure of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw.[7] He is also the current Head of the South Asian Studies Unit of the Chair of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, as well as the current Chairman of the Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the current President of the Polish Oriental Society.

The main area of research of Prof. Bożena Śliwczyńska, a specialist in Sanskrit studies and Bengali studies, is Classical Indian drama and traditional theatre forms of India in their social and ritual context. Her PhD thesis was published as *The Gītagovinda of Jayadeva and the Kṛṣṇa-yātrā: An Interaction Between Folk and Classical Culture in Bengal*, Warsaw, 1994. In her recent book *Tradycja teatru świątynnego kudijattam* (*The Tradition of the Kūṭiyāṭṭam Temple Theatre*), Warszawa, 2009, she presents the results of many years of her intensive fieldwork in Kerala.

Birthday of Professor Maria Krzysztof Byrski, eds. M. Nowakowska and J. Woźniak, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* LX/2, Warszawa, 2007.

7 For more information on the unit, see http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/buddologia/index.htm. For more information on Buddhist studies in Poland, see M. Mejor: "A Note on Buddhist Studies in Poland", *Studia Indologiczne* 4 (1997), pp. 125-33.

Prof. Joanna Jurewicz is a specialist in the early philosophical thought of India. Her PhD thesis, published as *O imionach i kształtach Jednego. Monizm indyjskiej filozofii Tradycji* (*On the Names and Forms of the One*: *The Monism of Indian Philosophy of Tradition*), Warszawa, 1994, is based on the Mokṣadharmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Manusmṛti*. In her two other books, *Kosmogonia Rygwedy. Myśl i metafora* (*The Cosmogony of the Ṛgveda: Thought and Metaphor*), Warszawa, 2001, and *Fire and Cognition in the Ṛgveda*, Warszawa, 2010, she pioneeringly employs the methods of cognitive linguistics to reconstruct the way of thinking of the Vedic people.[8] She is the current vice-chairman of the Polish Semiotic Society.

The research interests of Prof. Piotr Balcerowicz include Jaina religion and philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, and Classical Indian philosophy in general. He received his PhD degree from the University of Hamburg in 1999; his thesis *Jaina Epistemology in Historical and Comparative Perspective: Critical Edition and English Translation of Logical-Epistemological Treatises: Nyāyāvatāra, Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti and Nyāyāvatāra-ṭippaṇa with Introduction and Notes* was published as Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 53,1-2, Stuttgart, 2001 (2nd rev. edn.: Delhi, 2009). Among his other books are: *Dżinizm. Starożytna religia Indii. Historia, rytuał, literatura* (*Jainism: An Ancient Religion of India: History, Ritual, Literature*), Warszawa, 2003; *Historia klasycznej filozofii indyjskiej. Część pierwsza: początki, nurty analityczne i filozofia przyrody* (*History of Classical Indian Philosophy: Part One: Beginnings, Analytical Trends and Philosophy of Nature*), Warszawa, 2003; *Jainism and the Definition of Religion*, Mumbai, 2009.[9]

Dr. Anna Trynkowska is a specialist in Classical Sanskrit literature Kāvya. In her research, she concentrates on the

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8 In his book *What the Buddha Thought*, London, 2009, Richard Gombrich calls her discoveries in this area "momentous" (p. ix) and wonders "whether any other single scholar in the last hundred years has made so important contribution to the field" (pp. ix-x).

9 For more information on his professional career and achievements, see http://balcerowicz.prv.pl/.

Mahākāvya genre. Her PhD thesis was published as *Struktura opisów w „Zabiciu Śisiupali" Maghy. Analiza literacka sanskryckiego dworskiego poematu epickiego z VII w. n.e.* (*The Structure of Descriptions in Māgha's Śiśupālavadha: A literary analysis of a Sanskrit court epic poem of the 7th century* AD), Warszawa, 2004.

Dr. Monika Nowakowska specialises in Classical Indian philosophy Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya. Her PhD thesis (University of Warsaw, 2004) *Obecność nieobecności. Spór o negatywne sądy egzystencjalne (abhāva-pramāṇa) w traktacie Nyāya-mañjarī Dżajanty Bhatty (Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, IX w.)* (*The Presence of the Absence — An Argument over Negative Existential Propositions (abhāva-pramāṇa) in the Treatise Nyāya-mañjarī by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (9th century)*) is yet to be published.

Last but not least, Artur Karp, yet another student of Prof. Słuszkiewicz, whose vast academic interests include Buddhist studies and the study of the Sanskrit epics, is a committed and inspirational teacher. His lectures on the history of India, Indian society and culture, as well as his Sanskrit and Pāli texts reading classes have provoked creative thinking in many groups of students.

Among the numerous all-Poland and international academic conferences, seminars and workshops organised by the Chair of South Asian Studies of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw during the last twenty years were:

- International Seminar on Buddhist Studies *Aspects of Buddhism*, Liw, 25 June 1994 (organisers: A. Bareja-Starzyńska, M. Mejor); the proceedings were published in *Studia Indologiczne* 4 (1997), as a special issue eds. A. Bareja-Starzyńska and M. Mejor;
- *On the Understanding of Other Cultures.* International Conference on Sanskrit and Related Studies to Commemorate the Centenary of the Birth of Stanisław Schayer (1899-1941), Warsaw, 7-10 October 1999;[10] the

10 For more information, see http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/pl/indologia/schayer.html.

proceedings were published in *Studia Indologiczne* 7 (2000), as a special issue eds. P. Balcerowicz and M. Mejor (2nd edn.: *Essays in Indian Philosophy, Religion & Literature*, eds. P. Balcerowicz and M. Mejor, Delhi, 2004);

- International Seminar on Jainism *Aspects of Jainism*, Warsaw, 8-9 September 2000 (organisers: P. Balcerowicz, M. Mejor, M. Nowakowska, in co-operation with Prof. Albrecht Wezler, University of Hamburg); the proceedings were published as *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Jainism 'Aspects of Jainism', Warsaw University, 8th-9th September 2000*, ed. P. Balcerowicz, Delhi, 2003;

- International Seminar *Argument and Reason in Indian Logic*, Warsaw-Kazimierz Dolny, 20-24 June 2001 (organisers: P. Balcerowicz, M. Mejor, M. Nowakowska, in co-operation with Prof. Shoryu Katsura, Hiroshima University); the proceedings were published in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31/1-3 (2003) as a special volume ed. P. Balcerowicz;

- *India in Warsaw*. A Conference to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Post-War History of Indological Studies at Warsaw University, Warsaw, 22-23 April 2004; the proceedings were published as *India in Warsaw: A Volume to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Post-War History of Indological Studies at Warsaw University (2003/2004)*, eds. D. Stasik and A. Trynkowska, Warsaw, 2006;

- 3rd International Intensive Sanskrit Summer Retreat, Murzasichle, 11-24 July 2004 (organiser: M. Nowakowska);

- 1st Central and Eastern European Indological Conference on Regional Cooperation, Warsaw, 15-17 September 2005 (organisers: M. Nowakowska, D. Stasik, A. Trynkowska);[11] the proceedings were published as *Teaching on India in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. D. Stasik and A. Trynkowska, Warszawa, 2007;

11 For more information, see http://www.ceenis.uw.edu.pl/.

- International Seminar *Logic and Belief in Indian Philosophy: The Impact of Indian Thought in Asia and Europe*, Warsaw-Białowieża, 3 April - 5 May 2006 (organisers: P. Balcerowicz, M. Mejor, M. Nowakowska);[12] the proceedings were published as *Logic and Belief in Indian Philosophy*, ed. P. Balcerowicz, Delhi, 2010;
- International Seminar *The City and the Forest in Classical Indian Literature*, Warsaw, 25-27 September 2008 (organisers: J. Kusio, D. Stasik, A. Trynkowska); the proceedings were published as *The City and the Forest in Indian Literature and Art*, eds. D. Stasik and A. Trynkowska, Warsaw, 2010.

Besides those already mentioned, the joint publications of the chair include:

- T. Herrmann, J. Jurewicz, B.J. Koc and A. Ługowski: *Mały słownik klasycznej myśli indyjskiej* (*A Small Dictionary of Classical Indian Thought*), Warszawa, 1992;
- *Słownik mitologii hinduskiej* (*A Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*), ed. A. Ługowski, Warszawa, 1994;
- *Światło słowem zwane. Wypisy z literatury staroindyjskiej* (*The Light Called Word: An Old Indian Literature Reader*), ed. M. Mejor, Warszawa, 2007 (a volume of Polish translations from Vedic, Epic, early Buddhist and Classical Sanskrit literature, prepared by M.K. Byrski, J. Jurewicz, M. Mejor, B. Śliwczyńska and A. Trynkowska, in collaboration with L. Sudyka from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, as well as M. Pigoniowa and J. Sachse from the University of Wrocław).

The annual academic journal *Studia Indologiczne* (*Indological Studies*), published by the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw since 1994, should also be mentioned here. Edited by M. Mejor (1994-), P. Balcerowicz (1994-2009), M. Wielińska (1994-2002), A. Trynkowska (1998-2009), M.

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12 For more information, see http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/pl/indologia/.

Nowakowska (1999-2009), F. Majkowski (2010-) and K. Marciniak (2010-), it includes research articles in Polish, English and German on a variety of subjects that fall within the broadly conceived field of Indian culture, as well as book reviews and conference reports; its three special issues have been noted above.[13]

Regarding teaching activities, the Chair of South Asian Studies offers a 3-year first cycle (undergraduate, BA) programme of study and a 2-year second cycle (graduate, MA) programme of study in the field of Oriental studies with specialty in Indian studies and the possibility of majoring in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil.

The curriculum of the first cycle programme of study includes an intensive course of one Indian language (Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil), a basic course of another Indian language (Bengali, Hindi or Tamil for those majoring in Sanskrit and Sanskrit for those majoring in Bengali, Hindi or Tamil), Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil texts reading classes, lectures on the history of India, the socio-cultural issues of India, Sanskrit literature, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil literature, Indian philosophy and Indian art, as well as lectures on the history of Western philosophy, cultural anthropology and theory of culture.

The curriculum of the second cycle programme of study includes an intensive advanced course of one Indian language (Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil), Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi or Tamil source texts reading classes, as well as lectures and seminars providing students with a grounding in the research methods of linguistics, literary studies and cultural studies, religious studies and philosophy, or historical, social and political sciences.

At the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, the Department of Sanskrit was established as early as 1893; Leon Mańkowski (1858-1909) was appointed its Head. After his death, the

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13 All back issues of the journal are available online at: http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/studiaindologiczne/.

position stayed vacant for 18 years. From 1927, it was held by Helena Willman-Grabowska (1870-1957). In 1948, however, she was expelled from the university for political reasons and the unit under her charge was closed.

The revival of Sanskrit studies in Cracow was possible only in 1973. Prof. Tadeusz Pobożniak (1910-91), a student of Willman-Grabowska, was appointed the Head of the newly-opened Department of Indian Studies.

Prof. Pobożniak was a specialist in Indo-European linguistics, Indian (Sanskrit, Pāli, Hindi) studies, Romani studies and Iranian studies. His Polish translation of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* (staged in Polish theatres in 1970s) was published posthumously as *Gliniany wózeczek, dramat sanskrycki napisany przez Śudrakę* (*The Little Clay Cart: A Sanskrit Drama Written by Śūdraka*), Kraków, 2004.

Following Prof. Pobożniak's retirement, Józef Łączak (1926-89), another student of Willman-Grabowska, a gifted linguist (specialising not only in Sanskrit and Dravidian languages, but in Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages as well), and a dedicated teacher, acted as the Head of the Department until his unexpected death.

At present, there are seven specialists in Sanskrit studies employed by the Department of Indian Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.[14]

The main area of research of Prof. Lidia Sudyka is Sanskrit literature (esp. Kāvya) and Classical Indian theory of literature (Alaṃkāraśāstra). Her PhD thesis was published as *Kwestia gatunków literackich w Kathāsaritsāgara* (*The Question of Literary Genres in the Kathāsaritsāgara*), Kraków, 1998. In her later studies, she concentrates on the Mahākāvya genre, as exemplified in her second book *Od Ramajany do dydaktyki czyli Zagadki „Poematu Bhattiego"* (*From the Rāmāyaṇa to Didactics, or, The Riddles of the*

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14 For more information on the department, see: http://www.filg.uj.edu.pl/ifo/ind/.

Bhaṭṭikāvya), Kraków, 2004. Together with Dr. Cezary Galewicz, she carries out fieldwork on the continuity of Sanskrit literary tradition in south India. She is the current Director of the Institute.

Prof. Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz is a specialist in Indian ritual and philosophy. Her PhD thesis, based on the *Gṛhyasūtra*s, was published as *Jātakarman. Indyjska ceremonia narodzin* (*Jātakarman*: *An Indian Birth Ceremony*), Kraków, 1998. In her later research, which combines textual studies with fieldwork in south India, she focuses on the Pāñcarātra tradition; her two other books are *Pāñcarātra Scripture in the Process of Change*: *A Study of the Paramasaṃhitā*, Vienna, 2003 and *Studia nad pańćaratrą. Tradycja i współczesność* (*Studies on the Pāñcarātra*: *Tradition and the Present*), Kraków, 2008. She is the current Head of the Department.

The research interests of Dr. Cezary Galewicz lie in the broad area of the history of intellectual practices in South Asia. He co-translated (with Dr. Halina Marlewicz) into Polish selected *sūkta*s of the *Ṛgveda*: *Z hymnów Rigwedy. Bogowie trojga światów* (*From the Hymns of the Ṛgveda*: *The Gods of the Three Worlds*), Kraków, 1996, as well as selected *sūkta*s of the *Atharvaveda*: *Atharwaweda. Hymny wybrane* (*Atharvaveda: Selected Hymns*), Kraków, 1999. His major publication is *A Commentator in Service of the Empire: Sāyaṇa and the Royal Project of Commenting on the Whole of the Veda*, Wien, 2010. He carries out intensive fieldwork in south India (partly together with Prof. Lidia Sudyka, as mentioned above).

Dr. Halina Marlewicz is a specialist in Classical Indian philosophy (esp. Vedānta), Classical Indian theory of literature (Alaṃkāraśāstra) and translation studies. Two volumes of selected *sūkta*s of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* co-translated by her with Dr. Cezary Galewicz have been noted above.

The main field of academic interest of Dr. Iwona Milewska is the study of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Anna Nitecka carries out studies into Kashmir Śaivism, the works of Abhinavagupta, the *rasa* theory and Classical Indian drama. Dr. Ewa Dębicka-Borek specialises in the Pāñcarātra tradition.

Numerous international academic conferences, seminars and workshops organised by the Department of Indian Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University in Cracow in the last twenty years included:

- International Conference on Sanskrit and Related Studies, Cracow, 23-26 September 1993 (the first international academic conference on Sanskrit studies in Poland, organised in commemoration of the centenary of the establishing of the Department of Sanskrit at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow); the proceedings were published as *Cracow Indological Studies* I (1995);
- 2nd International Conference on Indian Studies, Cracow, 19-23 September 2001 (in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the death of Prof. Tadeusz Pobożniak); the proceedings were published as *Cracow Indological Studies* IV-V (2004);
- International Seminar *Love and Nature in Kāvya Literature*, Cracow and Zakopane, 22-25 September 2005; the proceedings were published as *Cracow Indological Studies* VII (2005);[15]
- International Seminar *The Word and the Sound: Fringes of Indian Music and Literature*, Cracow, 8-10 May 2007 (organisers: E. Dębicka, U. Nautiyal, L. Sudyka, K. Subocz, in co-operation with the Academy of Music in Cracow and the Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch).[16]

  Another event organised by the Department of Indian Studies, namely International Seminar *History and Society as Described in Indian Literature and Art*, will take place in Cracow from 15 to 17 September 2011.

15 For more information, see http://www.filg.uj.edu.pl/kavya/.

16 For more information, see http://www.filg.uj.edu.pl/indsem/.

The academic journal *Cracow Indological Studies* has been published by the department since 1995. Besides those already mentioned, of interest to specialists in Sanskrit studies are the following volumes:

- *Kāvya: Theory and Practice*, ed. L. Sudyka, *Cracow Indological Studies* II (2000);
- *Literatura indyjska w przekładzie* (*Indian Literature in Translation*), ed. R. Czekalska, *Cracow Indological Studies* VI (2005);
- *Tantra and Viśiṣṭādvaitavedānta*, ed. M. Czerniak-Drożdżowicz, *Cracow Indological Studies* VIII (2006).
- *Suprabhātam: Expressing and Experiencing Dawn Motifs in Indian Literature and Art*, ed. L. Sudyka, *Cracow Indological Studies* IX (2007).[17]

The department offers a 3-year first cycle programme of study and a 2-year second cycle programme of study in the field of philology with specialty in Indian studies. There is a possibility of majoring in Sanskrit or Hindi during the second cycle of studies.

The curriculum of the first cycle programme of study includes intensive courses of both Sanskrit and Hindi, texts reading classes, lectures on the history of South Asia, the culture and art of South Asia, South Asian literary traditions and Indian theory of literature, an introduction to South Asian studies, as well as an introduction to general linguistics and an introduction to literary studies.

The curriculum of the second cycle programme of study includes an intensive advanced course of either Sanskrit or Hindi, a basic course of a Dravidian language for those majoring in Sanskrit and Urdu for those majoring in Hindi, texts reading and translation classes, lectures on the history of Indian

17 For more information on the journal, see www.filg.uj.edu.pl/ifo/ind/publikacje.html.

philosophical systems, as well as lectures on the research methods of linguistics, literary studies or translation studies.

The post-war research in the field of Sanskrit studies at the University of Wrocław was initiated by Prof. Ludwik Skurzak (1900-79), a student of Stefan Stasiak, Jean Przyluski, Sylvain Lèvi and Stanisław Schayer. In his work, based on Sanskrit, Greek and Latin sources, he focused on the origins of Indian civilisation. His major publications are *Études sur l'origine de l'ascétisme indien*, Wrocław, 1948 and *Études sur l'épopée indienne*, Wrocław, 1958.

His student and successor, Prof. Hanna Wałkówska (now retired), is a specialist in ancient Indian customs and law. Her major works include her PhD thesis *Formy zawierania małżeństw w Indiach starożytnych, ich geneza i rozwój. Studia z etnografii Indii* (*The Forms of Contracting Marriages in Ancient India, Their Genesis and Development: Studies in Indian Ethnography*), Wrocław, 1967 and *Kult zmarłych w Indiach starożytnych. Studia z etnografii Indii* (*The Cult of the Dead in Ancient India: Studies in Indian Ethnography*), Wrocław, 1973. She was a Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Philology of the University of Wrocław in the years 1972-78, the Dean of the Faculty in the years 1987-90 and a Vice-Rector of the University of Wrocław in the years 1978-81.[18]

At present, there are four specialists in Sanskrit studies employed by the Department of Indian Philology of the Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology, University of Wrocław.[19] They are all graduates in classical (Greek and Latin) philology, which influences the directions of their research.

Prof. Joanna Sachse, a student of Prof. Wałkówska, is the current Head of the Department. Her research interests range from ancient Indian civilisation as described in Greek and Latin

18 Her professional achievements were celebrated in *Dānasāgaraḥ. Ocean darów dla Hanny Wałkówskiej* (*The Ocean of Gifts for Hanna Wałkówska*), Wrocław, 1993.

19 For more information on the department, see http://www.ifkika.uni.wroc.pl/.

sources to the philosophical thought of India, the study of the *Mahābhārata* and Classical Sanskrit literature (Kāvya). Her PhD thesis was published as *Megasthenes o Indiach* (*Megasthenes on India*), Wrocław, 1981. Her other major work is *Ze studiów nad Bhagawadgitą* (*From Studies on the Bhagavadgītā*), Wrocław, 1988. She translated into Polish the *Bhagavadgītā*: *Bhagawadgita czyli Pieśń Pana* (*Bhagavadgītā, or, The Song of the Lord*), Wrocław, 1988, and Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*: *Kālidāsa: Meghadūta. Obłok – posłańcem* (*Kālidāsa: Meghadūta: The Cloud Messenger*), Katowice, 1994.

Dr. Przemysław Szczurek follows in Prof. Sachse's footsteps and carries out meticulous research into the image of India in ancient Greek and Latin literature, the religious and philosophical thought of India, and the textual layers of the *Bhagavadgītā*. His book on *satī* based on Greek, Latin and Sanskrit sources will be published shortly.

Dr. Mariola Pigoniowa is a specialist in Classical Sanskrit literature (Kāvya). In her research, she focuses on Kālidāsa's oeuvre. Her PhD thesis was published as *Obraz kobiety w Meghaducie Kalidasy. Analiza semantyczna* (*The Image of Women in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*: *A Semantic Analysis*), Wrocław, 2002. At present, she is working on a Polish translation of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* and a study of laments in Sanskrit literature (in comparison with Greek and Latin tradition).

Dr. Hanna Urbańska specialises in Indian fairy tales. In her work, she analyses them in comparison with Aesop's fables and searches for Indian motifs in Polish folktales.

For many years, the Department of Indian Philology had been providing various elective courses for the students of the University of Wrocław, such as a basic Sanskrit course, Sanskrit texts reading classes and lectures on the history of India, ancient Indian customs and law, the religion and philosophy of India, Indian literatures, etc.

Since the academic year 2009/10, the department has been offering a 3-year first cycle programme of study in the field of philology with specialty in Indian philology and the culture of India.

The curriculum includes intensive courses of both Sanskrit and Hindi, lectures and seminars on the history of India, ancient Indian customs and law, Western philosophy, the religion and philosophy of India, Indian mythology, Indian literatures, Indian art, Classical Indian music, contemporary Indian culture, the socio-economic issues of contemporary India, an introduction to Indian studies, as well as a basic Greek or Latin course, an introduction to linguistics and an introduction to literary studies. There is a possibility of majoring in Sanskrit or Hindi during the third year of the programme.

3rd Middle European Student Indology Conference (MESIC 3), organised by the students of the department, will take place in Wrocław from 19 to 21 May 2011.[20]

The current Head of the South Asian Studies Unit of the Chair of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, is Prof. Marek Mejor. The unit employs one more specialist in Sanskrit studies, namely Dr. Sven Sellmer.[21]

Dr. Sellmer is a graduate in philosophy, classical philology and Indian studies from the University of Kiel. He received his PhD degree in philosophy from the University of Kiel in 2004. His research interests include Indian philosophy, semantic studies of the *Ṛgveda* and the Sanskrit epics, as well as Classical Sanskrit literature (Kāvya). His major work is *Formen der Subjektivität: Studien zur indischen und griechischen Philosophie*, Freiburg im Breisgau-München, 2005. He also authored a German translation of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*: *Dandin: Die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Zürich, 2006.

Since the academic year 2007/08, the unit has been offering a 3-year first cycle programme of study in the field of philology with specialty in Sanskrit and Tibetan studies and a 3-year first

20 For more information, see http://mesic3.pl/.

21 For more information on the unit, see http://www.indologia.amu.edu.pl/.

cycle programme of study in the field of philology with specialty in Hindi and Tamil studies.

The curriculum of the first cycle programme of study in the field of philology with specialty in Sanskrit and Tibetan studies includes an intensive Sanskrit course, basic courses of both classical and spoken Tibetan, lectures and seminars on the history and culture of the Indian subcontinent, the history and culture of Central Asia, the history of Sanskrit literature, the religions of India, Tibetan Buddhism, Indian philosophy, an introduction to Indian studies, as well as lectures on Western philosophy, an introduction to linguistics, an introduction to literary studies and an introduction to ethnology.

2nd Middle European Student Indology Conference (MESIC 2), organised by the students of the unit, took place in Wrocław Poznań from 17 to 19 May 2010.[22]

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22 For more information, see http://www.indologia.amu.edu.pl/mesic2/index.html.

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Sanskrit Studies in Russia

Sergei D. Serebriany

The 60 years to be covered in this essay have seen a very radical change in the meaning of the word "Russia" for most of the English speaking world. Up to 1991, by "Russia" in English was commonly understood the country officially called the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR for short). The name "Russia" was partly justified by the fact that the USSR was the heir (slightly diminished in size) of the former Russian Empire, often called Russia. The Russian Empire collapsed and disintegrated in 1917, the Soviet Union (formally proclaimed in 1922) did the same in 1991. Since then the name "Russia" applies only to the largest successor state, officially called the Russian Federation.

If I were to describe in details the history of Sanskrit studies in the Russian Empire and even in the Soviet Union before 1950, I had to include in my story the places (cities and university towns) which now belong to states other than Russian Federation, namely to Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania and probably some others. But as my starting point is 1950, I am entitled to limit my story with the two capital cities of Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg (from 1924 to 1991 known as Leningrad), because even in the Soviet Union after the Second World War Sanskrit studies developed predominantly, if not exclusively, in these two largest cities of the country.

Nevertheless, I must begin with the beginning.

The history of Sanskrit studies in Russia during the last two centuries (and, in particular, during the last 60 years) is part and parcel of the overall history of the country and may be best understood in the general context of this wider history. To begin with, Oriental studies in general and Indian studies in particular were imported into Russia, with other products of West European culture, under and after Peter I (ruled from

1682 to 1725). Therefore the history of Sanskrit and Indian studies in Russia is, on the one hand, part of the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Indian (South Asian) culture and, on the other hand, part of the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Western scholarship and Western scholarly methods in the humanities. The foreignness of Sanskrit (Indian) studies in Russia is emphasised by the fact that through most of the nineteenth and even in the twentieth century many Sanskrit scholars in Russia were of German origin.

Thus the greatest Sanskrit scholar in nineteenth-century Russia was Otto Böhtlingk (1815–1904), a German born in St. Petersburg (his ancestors had come to Russia during the reign of Peter I). In 1833-35 he was a student of St. Petersburg University, but then moved to Germany where he studied under A.W. Schlegel, Ch. Lassen and F. Bopp. For many years he lived and worked in Russia, associated with the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, but in 1868 returned for ever to his "historical homeland". In Germany he is considered a German scholar, but he also occupies a place of pride in the history of Russian Indology. Otto Böhtlingk was one of the compilers of the comprehensive Sanskrit-German dictionary widely known as *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

In the first third (or even the first half) of the twentieth century, Sanskrit studies in Russia were dominated by two figures: Sergei Fyodorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934) and Fyodor Ippolitovich Shcherbatsky (1866–1942). Both belonged to the elite of the Russian Empire, both lived and worked in the imperial capital St. Petersburg and were associated with the Academy of Sciences; both remained in the country after the Bolshevik take-over in 1917 (while a number of their colleagues and pupils preferred to emigrate). Like many other representatives of the pre-revolutionary Russian intelligentsia, after 1917 they collaborated with the new "power that be" in the hope to "civilise" it, but were eventually crushed in the process.

S.F. Oldenburg[1] is remembered first of all as an efficient "organiser of research". Probably his most lasting achievement has been the well-known "Bibliotheca Buddhica": thirty volumes in forty years (1897–1937).

F.I. Shcherbatsky (in Russian actually Shcherbatskoy)[2] hardly needs a detailed introduction. He seems to be the Russian indologist who is best known outside Russia, probably because he wrote and got published his major works in English: *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"* (London, 1923), *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna* (Leningrad, 1927), and *Buddhist Logic* (vols. 1-2, Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI, Leningrad, 1930–32).

When Stalin launched his "third revolution" by the end of the 1920s, the Academy was to be tamed. S.F. Oldenburg, one of the key figures in the Academy, was nearly arrested, but eventually spared and died a natural death in 1934. Younger colleagues of F.I. Shcherbatsky soon launched a campaign against him, charging him with the "reactionary" predilection for the "dead" languages like Sanskrit and classical Tibetan (it is true that Shcherbatsky underestimated the importance of Hindi and other modern Indian languages) and for the "obscurantist" religion of Buddhism. By the end of the 1930s practically all surviving pupils of Oldenburg and Shcherbatsky were either executed or imprisoned. Shcherbatsky died in 1942, a frustrated and intimidated druncard. The St. Petersburg-Leningrad school of Sanskrit (as well as Tibetan and Buddhist) studies almost died out.

But, by the irony of history, those very people who castigated Shcherbatsky for his "reactionary" love of Sanskrit were later to continue his tradition of Sanskrit studies. But, instead of Buddhism, they started investigating Hinduism.

In 1950 there was published from Leningrad, by the

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1 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergey_Oldenburg. Here and further in the notes references are given only to the English pages of the Wikipedia.

2 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fyodor_Shcherbatskoy.

publishing house of the Academy of Sciences, the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, the Ādiparva, in the Russian translation of V.I. Kalyanov (1908–2001). The translation of the second book, the Sabhāparva, by the same V.I. Kalyanov, came out only in 1962.[3] Before that, in 1959, V.I. Kalyanov brought to light the translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, which had been done long ago by many hands, including S.F. Oldenburg and F.I. Shcherbatsky. Between 1950 and 1962 big changes took place in the country.

The decisive watershed was 1953, the year when Stalin died. Stalin did not like the Indian National Congress and its leaders. He considered M.K. Gandhi and J.L. Nehru "agents of imperialism". Nikita Khrushchev, in the course of his "destalinisation", rehabilitated many (not all) victims of Stalin's terror. Khrushchev "rehabilitated" independent India as well and "made friends" with J.L. Nehru. This "friendship" gave a new impetus to Indian studies in the Soviet Union and to Sanskrit studies in particular.

As stated above, Sanskrit studies since the 1950s have developed practically exclusively in Leningrad (since 1991 again called St. Petersburg) and Moscow. In the former imperial capital Sanskrit studies have been carried on mostly at the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) University and at the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (part of the Academy of Sciences). In 2007 this Institute got a new name and now is called "The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences". In Moscow Sanskrit studies have been cultivated also at the two similar places: at the Moscow State University and at the Institute of Oriental Studies (which was moved from Leningrad to Moscow in the 1950s).

In both cities up to the mid-2000s Sanskrit studies were masterminded by people born between 1928 and 1930. This age group was doubly lucky: they were born too late to be enlisted in the army during the Second World War, and their formative

3 Later V.I. Kalyanov translated four more books of the *Mahābhārata*: the 4th, the 5th, the 7th and the 9th.

years coincided with the "thaw" after Stalin's death, when Khrushchev "made friends" with India.

Many of those who were born in the earlier 1920s, up to 1927, perished at the fronts of the war. It is not by chance that in this particular age group we have only women scholars of Sanskrit.

Vera Aleksandrovna Kochergina (b. 1924) studied Sanskrit at Moscow University with Mikhail Nikolaevich Peterson (1885–1962), the linguist, and have taught Sanskrit for many years at her *alma mater*. The author of this essay was one of her students in the early 1960s. Professor Kochergina has written a Sanskrit textbook for students (first published in 1956) and compiled a Sanskrit-Russian dictionary (the only *complete* Sanskrit-Russian dictionary available so far, first published in 1978). An outline of Sanskrit grammar, attached to this dictionary, has been written by our outstanding linguist Andrey Anatolyevich Zaliznyak (b. 1935).[4]

Oktyabrina Fyodorovna Volkova (1926–88) was an alumna of Leningrad University, but later lived in Moscow and taught Sanskrit to many people (including the author of this essay) at the kitchen of her flat.[5] From the St. Petersburg-Leningrad tradition she inherited a deep interest in Buddhism. She did not publish much, but her very important contribution was the Russian translation of Ārya-śūra's *Jātaka-mālā*, which translation had been started long ago by A.P. Barannikov (1890–1952), but finalised and edited by O.F. Volkova in 1962. She also is reported to have translated the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, but the translation remains unpublished. In the 1970s and early 1980s Buddhism was frowned upon by Soviet authorities, and there was little hope to get published a translation of a Buddhist sūtra.

By the end of the 1950s, as if all of a sudden, there

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4 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrey_Zaliznyak.

5 O. Volkova's father was a Soviet general and, according to her, one of the last of "chukhontsy", the Finno-Ugric people who lived on the territory where St. Petersburg was founded.

appeared, in both capitals, a group of outstanding Sanskrit scholars. In St. Petersburg) they were Vladimir Svyatoslavovich Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy (1927–56), Eduard Naumovich Tyomkin (b. 1928) and Vladimir Gansovich[6] Erman (b. 1928).[7] In Moscow they were Pavel Aleksandrovich Grintser (1928–2009), Vladimir Nikolayevich Toporov (1928–2005), Tatyana Yakovlevna Yelizarenkova (1929–2007), Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov (b. 1929) and Alexander Yakovlevich Syrkin (b. 1930), all of them the students of Professor M.N. Peterson at Moscow university. Professor M.N. Peterson was for them a living link with the traditions of pre-1917 scholarship and culture.

The Moscow scholars got an additional benefit in 1957. In that year George Roerich (1902–60), in Russian: Yuriy Nikolayevich Rerikh), one of the sons of the painter Nikolay Konstantinovich Roerich (1874–1947), came back to Russia, after many years of life in emigration, and settled in Moscow. In his younger years George Roerich studied in France and the USA. He was mostly a scholar of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism, but knew Sanskrit as well. His short term in Moscow (less than three years) has proved to be very fruitful. He has left a lasting memory and stimulated considerably the development of Indian and Sanskrit studies in the Soviet Union.

To come back to the Leningrad scholars, V.S. Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy (1927–56)[8] was a thorough scholar of Sanskrit and Tibetan. Among other works, he resumed the description of Indian, Tibetan and Central Asian manuscripts kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad. Besides, he had a fine

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6 Professor Erman's father was Estonian, hence the unusual patronymic.

7 To the same generation there belonged Georgiy Alexandrovich Zograf (1928–93). Though not strictly speaking a scholar of Sanskrit, he was our leading specialist in the languages of South Asia and for many years headed the department of South Asia at the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

8 In 1944–45 he served in the army and participated in military actions in Romania, Hungary and Czekoslovakia. His early death might have been caused by the hardships during the war.

literary taste and masterly translated into Russian the *Mṛchakaṭikam* of Śūdraka (first published in 1956; the poetic parts were translated by the poet V. Shefner).

E.N. Tyomkin (b. 1928) for many years was the deputy director of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Specialists value very much his study of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (1975) and his contributions to the study of Central Asian manuscripts. To general readers to is better known as the co-author (together with V.G. Erman) of popular retellings of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

V.G. Erman (b. 1928) for many years taught Sanskrit at the Oriental Faculty of Leningrad St. Petersburg University. His field of research work has been Sanskrit literature and drama. He translated into Russian Viśākhādatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* (1959), Bhāsa's *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* (1984), and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (1996). His latest translation is the Bhīṣma-parva, the sixth book of the *Mahābhārata* (2009).

But our major authority on the *Mahābhārata* as well as on the *Rāmāyaṇa* was the Moscovite P.A. Grintser (1928–2009). To describe his work adequately one would have to write a special paper. Here suffice it to say that, besides the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* P.A. Grintser studied narrative literature in Sanskrit (he translated into Russian the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Vikramacarita*), the Sanskrit drama (translated Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Pratimā-nāṭaka*), the Alaṁkāra-śāstra, and also wrote on the subject of comparative literature. By the end of his life P.A. Grintser undertook a translation of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and has completed the translation of the first three books. The translation of the first two books was published in 2006. This work must be considered an outstanding contribution both to Sanskrit scholarship and to Russian literature.

P.A. Grintser's life long friend V.N. Toporov (1928–2005) was indeed a polymath, a specialist in many languages and

many subjects.[9] The list of his publications (about 1,500) is a thick book in itself. One of his first indological works was a translation from Pāli into Russian (with an introduction and commentaries) of the *Dhammapada* (first published in 1960). It is, in my opinion, one of the best translations from any Indian language into Russian. In 1960 the book was published in the resurrected series "Bibliotheca Buddhica", with George Roerich as the "beantwortlicher Redacteur". As the oral tradition relates, the bosses of that time got infuriated. They took the publication of the *Dhammapada* (a "religious text"!) as an "ideological diversion". One of the bosses summoned George Roerich and scolded him. The scholar died soon after that meeting. And V.N. Toporov for many years gave up Buddhist studies. But in the same 1960 V.N. Toporov and V.V. Ivanov got published their book *Sanskrit* (a description of the language in a "structuralist" vein), in 1968 published also in an English translation. In 1965 V.N. Toporov co-authored with his wife, T.Y. Yelizarenkova, a book on the Pāli language (later also translated into English). In 1988 for the first time after many years a collection of F.I. Shcherbatsky's works was published from Moscow, accompanied with a very thorough commentary by V.N. Toporov. In 1998 he surprised us with a thick book on Śūdraka's *Mṛchakaṭikam*, subtitled "An invitation to a close reading".

V.N. Toporov's wife T.Y. Yelizarenkova (1929–2007) was a versatile scholar of South Asian languages, from Vedic to Hindi.[10] But her most outstanding and lasting achievement has been the first complete translation into Russian of the whole of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*. It was for this work that T.Y. Yelizarenkova was honoured, in 2004, with the Padma Shri by the Government of India. The translation of the *Atharvaveda* has remained incomplete and will be continued by her pupils. The American scholar Wendy Doniger has called T.Y. Yelizarenkova "the greatest living scholar of the *Ṛgveda*, and certainly the greatest linguist of the *Ṛgveda*". For several years T.Y. Yelizarenkova

9 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Toporov .

10 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tatyana_Elizarenkova#cite_ref-0 .

was a vice-president of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. She attended several World Sanskrit Conferences, for the last time in 2003, in Helsinki.

Viacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov (b. 1929, a son of the eminent Soviet writer Vsevolod Ivanov [1895–1963]) is also a polymath. From the early 1960s he and V.N. Toporov were among the leaders of our "structuralist" (alias "semiotical") movement, a kind of non-political scholarly opposition to the Soviet establishment. It is in this "structuralist-semiotical" vein that the two scholars wrote a book on Sanskrit, mentioned above. Since the 1990s V.V. Ivanov has lived more in the USA than in Russia.

Alexander Yakovlevich Syrkin (b. 1930) is a master of translations. He translated into Russian the *Pañcatantra* in Pūrṇabhadra version (the translation first published in 1958), several most important Upaniṣads (in the 1960s), the Kāmasūtra (first published in 1993), Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* (published in 1995), the whole of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (not yet published) and other texts. In 1977 A.Y. Syrkin emigrated to Israel, but in the 1990s used to visit his native Moscow and to get his books (re)published here.

In this context one more scholar, one more émigré, of this age group must be mentioned: Alexander Moiseyevich Piatigorsky (1929–2009).[11] He was a philosopher and a scholar of Tamil and Buddhism. In the 1960s and early 1970s he was a very conspicuous figure in Moscow intellectual life. In 1974 he left for London (and for many years taught at the SOAS), but since the 1990s re-appeared in Russia from time to time and got his books published here. A.M. Piatigorsky was a close friend of O.F. Volkova. Sometime in the 1960s they started, together with the Estonian pupil of theirs, Linnart Mäll (1938–2010),[12] a new translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The work has never been completed, but A.M. Piatigorsky got published a paper or two

11 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Piatigorsky .

12 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linnart_M%C3%A4ll .

on the *Gītā* and L. Mäll brought to light an Estonian translation of the poem (in 1980).

Before moving to later generations, I should recall three more scholars who were active since the late 1950s.

Boris Leonidovich Smirnov (1891–1967) was a medical doctor. Since the mid-1930s he lived in a kind of exile in Ashkhabad (Turkmenistan). A self-taught Sanskrit scholar, B.L. Smirnov started publishing his translations from the *Mahābhārata* in the late 1950s. His translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* has been republished several times. His was a work of love and devotion, very important for its time, but rather out-dated now.

Grigoriy Fyodorovich Ilyin (1914–1985) was an historian of ancient India who worked with Vedic and classical Sanskrit sources. His concise retelling of the *Mahābhārata* (1958) was probably the first of its kind in Russia and remains quite readable till today.

In the fateful 1917 there was born Igor Dmitriyevich Serebriakov (1917–98), a peculiar and rather lonely figure in our Indology. At the Leningrad University, in the late 1930s, he attended the classes of F.I. Shcherbatsky. Then, for quite some years, he served in the army. Unlike most other scholars mentioned above, I.D. Serebriakov was a good member of the Communist Party and so enjoyed the privilege of traveling abroad. From the late 1950s he lived and worked in India for years in various official capacities (in 1964–69, as a correspondent of the newspaper *Pravda*). Other Russian indologists, after 1917 and till the 1960s or even till later, could not, as a rule, go to India (nor, for that matter to any other foreign country). I.D. Serebriakov translated a lot from Sanskrit, but has not proved to be an artful translator.

Now we come to the people born in the 1930s. This decade has also given us a number of remarkable scholars of Sanskrit and related subjects. They worked, again, in Moscow and St. Petersburg).

Yevgeniy Mikhailovich Medvedev (1932–85) was an

historian of ancient India, he taught at the Moscow State University and was a very painstaking scholar.

Viktoria Viktorovna Vertogradova (b. 1933) is both an historian and a philologist. She has written a book on Prakrits (1978, 2nd edn. 2002) and a book on Indian inscriptions in Central Asia (1995).

Margarita Iosifovna Vorobyova-Desiatovskaya (b. 1933) is a world-known specialist in ancient Indian palaeography, she studies and gets published Indian texts (in Sanskrit and other languages) from Central Asia which are preserved in St. Petersburg.

Nikita Vladimirovich Gurov (1935–2009) was one of the leading St.-Petersburg Indologists. His interests extended from the proto-Indic culture to the Vedas, Sanskrit and Dravidian languages.

Yulia Markovna Alikhanova (b. 1936) teaches Sanskrit and Indian literature at the Moscow State University. She has to her credit quite a number of studies and translations. Among other things, she translated into Russian the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana.

Svetlana Leonidovna Néveleva (b. 1937) is best known as a translator of the *Mahābhārata*) Together with Y.V. Vasilkov (see further) she translated books 3, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17. Now with her younger colleagues she works at the translations of books 12 and 13. S.L. Néveleva has also writtten several monographs on various aspects of (studying) the *Mahābhārata.*

Three more names should be mentioned here. Mikhail Sergeyevich Andronov (1931–2009) was our major specialist in the Tamil language and Dravidian linguistics.

Leonid Borisovich Alayev (b. 1932), though not strictly speaking a Sanskrit scholar, is a distinguished historian of India and Indian culture, an important figure in our Indology. David Benyaminovich Zilberman (Silberman, 1938–77), a pupil of O.F. Volkova and A.M. Piatigorskij, was a promising scholar of Indian philosophy. He was forced to emigrate to the USA in

1974 and perished there in a road accident. His legacy includes brilliant translations of Śaṅkara's works.

By far the most famous scholar of this age group was the late Grigoriy Maksimovich Bongard-Levin (1933–2008),[13] an historian of ancient India. For several years he was a vice-president of the IASS.

Between generations (as well as between countries) there stands Boris Leonidovich Ogibenin (b. 1940), who emigrated to France in the early 1970s.[14] His interests extend from the Vedas to Buddhism.

Ogibenin's coeval was Valeriy Isayevich Rudoy (1940–2009). He lived and worked in St. Petersburg, but occupies a very special "territory" in our Indology. Together with his younger colleagues he studied Buddhism and Indian philosophy in a rather esoteric way, almost without any contacts with other Indologists. The major achievement of V.I. Rudoy and his colleagues has been a translation (not completed yet) of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*.

During (and immediately after) Second World War comparatively less babies were born in Russia (and in the 1970s–1980s many of those babies went away with the so called "third wave" of emigration), but among the "children of the war" there are also some Sanskrit scholars. After 1917 this age group was the first who could go to India during their university years.

Vsevolod Sergeyevich Sementsov (1941–86) was the first professional Sanskrit scholar in Russia who translated the whole of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. One of his translations, in verses, was first published in 1985 and republished in 1999.[15] Another translation, in prose, together with his translation of

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13 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grigory_Maksimovich_Bongard-Levin .

14 Now in French his surname is written as Oguibénine.

15 Cf. http://omnamahshivaya.narod.ru/libr/bhgitasem/index.htm .

Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Gītā*, has remained in a manuscript.[16]

Boris Alekseyevich Zakharyin (b. 1942) is a linguist *par excellence*, a scholar of Sanskrit, Pāli, Hindi, Kashmiri and other South Asian languages. He takes a particular interest in Sanskrit grammatical tradition. Recently he translated into Russian parts of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the Sanskrit grammar of Varadarāja. B.A. Zakharyin is head of the department of South Asian languages at the Institute of the Countries of Asia Africa, Moscow State University.

Jaroslav Vladimirovich Vasilkov (b. 1943) is a specialist in the *Mahābhārata* and related subjects. As mentioned above, he, together with S.L. Néveleva, has translated into Russian several books of the *Mahābhārata*.

Alexey Alekseyevich Vigasin (b. 1946) is an outstanding historian of ancient India. His studies in (and translations from) the *Arthaśāstra* and various Dharmaśāstras are remarkable contributions to Sanskrit scholarship. He was the first to prepare a complete Russian translation of Aśoka's inscriptions. At present A.A. Vigasin is head of the department of South Asian history at the Institute of the Countries of Asia Africa, Moscow State University.

Andrey Mikhailovich Samozvantsev (1949–2009) was also an historian who studied the *Arthaśāstra* and Dharmaśāstras. He took particular interest in the ancient Indian law and the theories of property.

The author of this essay (b. 1946) is a philologist, a student of South Asian languages, literature(s) and culture(s) in general. As for Sanskrit studies, my most notable achievements have been a translation into Russian of Vidyāpati's *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* and of several chapters from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.

Alexander Alexandrovich Stolyarov (b. 1946) is a student of

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16 Alexander Mikhailovich Dubiansky (b. 1941), our leading specialist in the Tamil language and culture, also belongs to this age group.

Indian epigraphy (mostly in Sanskrit). Now he has become the director of the recently established Centre for South Asian Studies at the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow).

Vladimir Nikolayevich Romanov (b. 1947) is an historian of Indian culture. His latest work has been a translation (with a study) of parts of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (published in 2009).

Andrey Anatolyevich Terentyev (b. 1948) is a student of Jainism and Buddhism, especially of Buddhist art. He translated into Russian a number of Jaina philosophical texts, but now concentrates on Buddhist philosophy.

But it was only among those who were born in the 1950 and later that a whole group of scholars appeared who came to study Indian philosophy in a systematic way. Several of them have been PhD students of the late G.M. Bongard-Levin.

In Moscow there works Valeriy Pavlovich Androsov (b. 1950), an historian of Buddhist philosophy. He has translated into Russian several major works of those ascribed to Nāgārjuna and has written several monographs on Buddhist thought.

Another Moscovite, Vladimir Kirillovich Shokhin (b. 1951), by now has become our major authority on Indian philosophy as well as on comparative philosophy. He has translated into Russian the basic texts of Sāṃkhya and Nyāya and has written a number of fundamental works on the history of Indian (Hindu and Buddhist) philosophy.

Andrei Vsevolodovich Paribok (b. 1952), now teaching at the St. Petersburg University, is also a student of Buddhism and a philosopher in his own right. He translated from Pāli into Russian the *Milindapañha* and a number of texts from the Pāli canon.

Viktoria Georgiyevna Lysenko, who works at the Institute of Philosophy (part of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in Moscow, is a scholar of many interests, but she devotes most of her time to the early Buddhist thought and to the Vaiśeṣika system. She has translated into Russian the *Padārtha-dharma-*

saṃgraha of Praśastapāda (with the commentary *Nyāya-kandalī* by Śrīdhara) and has written a number of monographs.

Her fellow student at the Moscow State University was Natalya Vasilyevna Isayeva, a great admirer of Śaṅkara. For many years N.V. Isayeva has been working at a translation of Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*, and we may hope that this work will be completed sooner or later.

Their younger colleague Alexey Vladimirovich Pimenov studied Mīmāṃsā. But now he lives somewhere in America, and we have not heard from him for quite sometime.

But among those who were born in the 1950s and later studied Sanskrit, not everybody has been taken by Indian philosophy. Thus, Dmitriy Nikolayevich Lelyukhin (b. 1956) studies ancient Indian epigraphy and is an enthusiast of digitalising his sources. Natalya Vladimirovna Alexandova uses her knowledge of Sanskrit for studying the works of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims (Fa-xian and Hsüan-tsang) in India. Yelena Valeryevna Tyulina is a scholar of Purāṇas. She has translated into Russian the *Garuḍa Purāṇa.*

Among people born still later, in the 1960s and 1970s, there are also Sanskrit scholars of various interests.

Natalya Rostislavovna Lidova (a former student of P.A. Grintser) concentrates, in Moscow, on the study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Natalya Alexeyevna Kanayeva teaches Indian philosophy at various places in Moscow and has written a very interesting textbook on the subject. Leonid Igorevich Kulikov (b. 1964), a student of T.Y. Yelizarenkova, has been taken by Vedic studies and pursues them mostly in Leiden. Sergei Sergyevich Tavastsherna (b. 1965; he is a scion of a Swedish-Finnish family by name Tawaststjerna) teaches Sanskrit at the St. Petersburg University and investigates the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar.

Maxim Albertovich Rusanov (b. 1966) is a connoisseur of poetry in Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Farsi and Urdu. He has written a monograph on the Sanskrit Kāvya and translated into Russian the *Sattasai* of Hāla. Now he is head of the department of the

philology of Southern and Central Asia at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow.

Sergey Vladimirovich Pakhomov (b. 1968) teaches non-Western and comparative philosophy at the philosophical faculty of the St. Petersburg University. His favorite subject is tantric philosophy.

Natalya Anatolyevna Zheleznova (Moscow) has become our major specialist in Jaina thought. She has written a brilliant monograph on the teaching of Kundakunda and has got a special award from Indian Jainas. Kseniya Dmitriyevna Nikolskaya (Moscow), a student of A.A. Vigasin, continues her teachers's research on the *Arthaśāstra*. Vladimir Pavlovich Ivanov (b. 1973) studies, in St. Petersburg, the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. Ruzana Vladimirovna Pskhu (Moscow) has published a study of Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṃgraha.*

A case apart is Andrey A. Ignatyev (b. 1977) who lives in the city of Kaliningrad (the former Königsberg in the former Eastern Prussia, the city of Immanuel Kant). He studied Sanskrit at the University there, in the late 1990s, under Professor A.N. Khovansky, who was actually a professor of mathematics and an amateur sanskritist. Since the early 2000s A.A. Ignatyev regularly publishes from Kaliningrad translations of various Purāṇic texts and sends them to fellow Indologists to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and probably elsewhere.

At present in Russia Sanskrit is taught, as far as I know, at least in three places: at the St. Petersburg University, at the Moscow State University and the Russian State University for the Humanities (also in Moscow). The number of students is not large, but the tradition keeps on. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Sanskrit charmed many people in Russia. If the country survives in the twenty-first century, there surely will appear new Russian enthusiasts for this magnificent and rich language and they most probably will find, at least in Moscow and St. Petersburg, somebody to teach them the deva-vāṇī.

Sanskrit Studies in Thailand

Amarjiva Lochan

Thailand is a prominent country of Southeast Asia, where Sanskrit study has been promoted for a long time. Thai and other Southeast Asian languages have strong roots in Sanskrit, which reflects their remote past relations with Sanskrit. Sanskrit has a deep influence on Thai literature and culture as well. The Royal Family here has high regard for Sanskrit learning.

In the past 60 years, the following academic institutions are offering the courses in Sanskrit:

- Silpakorn University: B.A. level, and MA. (Sanskrit), Ph.D. (Sanskrit)
- Chulalongkorn University: B.A. level, and MA. (Pali-Sanskrit)
- Mahachulalongkorn Rajavidyalaya (Mahachula Buddhist University), Bangkok : B.A.
- Mahamakut Rajavidyalaya (Mahamakut Buddhist University), Bangkok: B.A.
- Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai: teaching Sanskrit in B.A. Level as minor
- Kasetsart University, Bangkok: teaching Sanskrit in B.A. Level as minor.

Chulalongkorn University initiated Sanskrit teaching about 60 years ago, and has produced several luminaries such as Prof. Wisut Busayakul and Asstt Prof. Pranee Laphanich (both retired). At present, there are:

- Prapod Assavavirulhakarn
- Banjob Bannaruji
- Thassani Sinsakul

- Somphan Phromtha
- Anand Lawlertwarakul
- Thanit Chakritphong

At Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Sanskrit is taught under the Dept of Thai Language. The following are teachers who help the students in the Dept not only to learn the basic Sanskrit but also encourage them to do Sanskrit related study and research. Following are the faculty members at present:

- Boonlue Chaimano
- Supatra Indana
- Saman Kaewruang
- Pratuang Dinnaratna

At Chiang Mai University, Sanskrit is taught along with Pāli for over 30 years. The teachers include:

- Kamchai Anantasukha
- Sayam Pattaranupravat
- Kavi Chansong

Mahachulalongkorn University, Bangkok which has several branches in many provinces of Thailand primarily deals with the Buddhist monks learning courses. Though, it is possible that lay persons join the class too. In all of its branches, they take care of imparting the knowledge of Sanskrit along with Pāli. Some of the Sanskritists are:

- Khampan Wongsaneh
- Phramaha Nopadol Saisuta
- Phramaha Vorachai Tissadevo
- Phramaha Chaaim Suviro
- Somkuan Niyomwong
- Teer Pumttabtim

At Mahamakut Rajavidyalaya University, another Buddhist university with the same nature like Mahachulalongkorn University, has few Sanskrit hands which include:

- Jumnong Kanthik
- Phramaha Thongcherd Katapunyo

Silpakorn University is one of the earliest universities, where Sanskrit has been offered for almost 50 years. Here Sanskrit has been included in the curriculum at Bachelor's level at the Faculty of Archaeology since its inception in 1955. The Department of Oriental Languages was established under this Faculty in 1974, and Sanskrit was included in its Master's curriculum. The Department has so far produced graduates with Master's degree in Sanskrit and in Epigraphy of Ancient Oriental Languages. In 2000, the first-ever Doctorate degree in Sanskrit in the entire Southeast Asia has been introduced in the Department. There are foreign students studying Sanskrit for the degree of Ph.D.

In order to promote Sanskrit study and research, Department of Oriental Languages proposed to establish Sanskrit Studies Centre (SSC) under the scheme of the 8th undergraduate educational development plan of Silpakorn University; and this proposal was approved which led to the establishment of the Centre. Asst. Prof. Chirapat Prapandvidya was appointed as the first Director until his retirement in 2001. His successor, Asst. Prof. Samniang Leurmsai, has been appointed in the same position since 1 October 2001, and at present Sombat Mangmeesuksiri is Director of the SSC. SSC is now an academic body under the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University according to the Silpakorn University's Regulation promulgated on 21 June 2006.

SSC with the collaboration of the Silpakorn University has organized, with great success few International Conferences in the past decade including the one on "Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures" from 21-23 May 2001 and "Sanskrit in Asia: Unity in Diversity" in 2005. This is the only academic institution which has also promoted Sanskrit by

organizing Conference for native scholars spread all over Thailand.

Realizing the importance of Sanskrit in this region, the Government of India created a Chair of Visiting Professor in this country in 1977 which was shifted to our Silpakorn University in 1988. Since then, various luminaries have worked such as Satya Vrat Shastri, Usha Satya Vrat, Hari Dutt Sharma, Radhavallabh Tripathi, Radhamadhab Dash, Prativa Manjari Rath and recently Kedar Nath Sharma has joined this coveted Chair.

The number of students who have obtained Master's degree in Sanskrit and in Oriental Epigraphy with emphasis on Sanskrit and Khmer from the Department of Oriental Languages up to the year 2010 are as follows:

1. Master's Degree in Epigraphy (since 1976): 160
2. Master's Degree in Sanskrit (since 1988): 100

It is worth note that most of the teachers in different institutions in Thailand have been alumni of SSC, Silpakorn University.

The following are the Objectives of the SSC:

1. To be a centre for the collection of the data on Sanskrit, rare Sanskrit documents, books, and Sanskrit related documents.
2. To be a centre for Sanskrit study and its related subjects with the emphasis on Southeast Asia.
3. To be a centre for academic exchange for scholars, students, and persons interested in Sanskrit study.
4. To be a centre for dissemination of research publications, translations of Sanskrit literary works, and philosophical writings.
5. To serve as a centre which inspires people to be aware of the importance of Sanskrit.

Through the effort of the well-wishers of the SSC, there are

at present 15 endowment funds from philanthropists to support SSC and to assist students who study Sanskrit at Silpakorn University. The funds are administered by Silpakorn University with suggestion from SSC.

At present, more than 5,000 Sanskrit and related books are in stock at the SSC library, one of the richest in Southeast Asia in terms of Sanskrit books.

For academic linkage and cooperation, an MOU was signed by Silpakorn University with the Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidya Peeth (SLBSRSVP) (Deemed University), New Delhi in September 2002.

In 2006 budget of about US $ 2.5 million was allotted by the Government of Thailand for the construction of the building for SSC to cost over US $ 4 million.

Simultaneously SSC got the financial support from the Government of India for which the first initiatives were taken in 2003. Finally, in June 2007 the fund of US $ 310,000 was granted by the Government of India to be added to budget for the construction. Now, the building is almost complete and has started functioning for its classes and Library facilities (*Sanskrit Studies Centre Building, Silpakorn University, 8, Liab Klong Thaweewatthana Road, Thaweewatthana, Bangkok-10170, Phone & Fax +66-2431-5345* email: sanskritstudies@speedpost.net). I am proud to report that the SSC building with five floors (with huge auditorium, library floor and accommodation) is the world's single biggest building complex solely devoted to the study and research of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit Studies in the United States

Sheldon Pollock

The past sixty years have witnessed a significant transformation of Sanskrit studies in the United States. The sheer number of people studying and teaching Sanskrit in American universities has grown dramatically. The field has also markedly changed its disciplinary location, and has gradually inched from the periphery toward the center of philology and the humanities generally, if still rather less than many of its practitioners might welcome.[1]

Around 1950, Sanskrit was taught at a handful of universities, among them Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, the U. of California at Berkeley, and Yale, typically in departments of classics or comparative philology, or Oriental (or Near Eastern or similar) studies. Today it is taught at scores, at various levels. Graduate programs in Sanskrit, which number about a dozen, are usually housed in departments of "Asian Studies" variously defined (whether including all of Asia, or some combination of East Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia and the Middle East, or restricted to South Asia, which is now rare). It is complemented by instruction in a range of modern South Asian languages nowhere taught in America before the 1950s, above all Hindi

1 This essay represents a collaborative effort of several distinguished and generous scholars, whose knowledge and, sometimes, very formulations appear in the following pages. I wish to thank Madhav Deshpande, James Fitzgerald, Robert Goldman, Phyllis Granoff, Stephanie Jamison, Matthew Kapstein, Christopher Minkowski, Patrick Olivelle, Richard Salomon, and Michael Witzel. I am also grateful to Andrew Ollett and Anand Venkatkrishnan for their research assistance.

but also Bengali and Tamil. Sanskrit plays a major role in religious studies, and is often taught there, though rarely by specialists in the language; it has a more minor role in art history. By contrast, its presence in classics and philology (now linguistics) departments has faded dramatically as interest in comparative and historical studies has faded in those disciplines, while the virtual disappearance of ancient Indian history from American history departments, the continuing absence of Indian philosophy from almost all American philosophy departments, and the indifference of comparative literature to non-Western literary cultures has meant Sanskrit's continued exclusion from those areas as well. Statistics are not available for the production of PhDs in Sanskrit studies in the narrow sense — scholars trained primarily to teach the language and do research on Sanskrit culture — but the number is unlikely to exceed ten or twelve per year. The number of PhDs where Sanskrit is a major part of the student's training, as in religion, would certainly triple that number.

If a review of the institutional place of Sanskrit studies shows something of a mixed picture, its true health can be more securely gauged by a survey of publications over the past sixty years, even one delimited by the severe space constraints required for this essay. This survey reveals a wide range of important, even major, achievements, which both preserve the greatest strengths of the Sanskrit philological and intellectual tradition but also nudge that tradition forward along new paths of exciting research. If there is a dominant trend identifiable in this period it is toward a new kind of scholarship that, without necessarily conceiving itself as "post-Orientalist" (and perhaps in some cases even resisting such a label), approaches Sanskrit culture with the aim of making sense of its structure, history, presuppositions and standards of judgement, without measuring it against structures, histories, presuppositions and standards external to it. It thus asks, not so much whether Pāṇini's grammar is correct or Dharmakīrti's philosophy true or Kālidāsa's poetry beautiful according to some transcendental standard of correctness, truth, and beauty, but rather what

Pāṇini, Dharmakīrti, and Kālidāsa actually sought to achieve in their writings, and how they went about it. It asks why *vyākaraṇa*, *pramāṇaśāstra,* and *kāvya* are the way they are and what that particular way is, rather than seeking to embed these forms of thought in a grand transcultural narrative — about civilization, progress, history, modernity, and the rest — that earlier scholars had often brought, however unconsciously, to their inquiries. And this change has been a good thing.

The survey is arranged as follows: (1) Vedic studies; (2) epic and purāṇic studies; (3) *śāstra* in general; 4) *vyākaraṇa*; 5) *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*; 6) *darśana*s along with Buddhist and Jain studies; (7) *sāhityaśāstra* and literary studies; (8) *jyotiḥśāstra*, mathematics, and medicine; 9) epigraphy and paleography. Scholars are included who conduct or conducted their work in the US, along with some Americans living outside of the US. Limitation of space has required the exclusion of most work on Apabhramsha, Pali, and the Prakrits.

1. Vedic Studies

Vedic studies in the early 1950s was characterized by the then still-ongoing immigration of European scholars. Some had arrived before World War II, such as Paul-Émile Dumont (Baltimore), Paul Tedesco (Yale), Mark J. Dresden (who subsequently went into Iranian studies). Several others moved to America after the war: notably, Paul Thieme (Yale, 1954-1960), Hartmut Scharfe (UCLA), Barend van Nooten (Berkeley), and later on J. Frits Staal (Berkeley), Hanns-Peter Schmidt (UCLA), and Michael Witzel (Harvard). Several left a substantial legacy, through their work or through their students. American scholars specializing in Vedic studies were few at the time (much reduced from the era of Whitney, Lanman, and Bloomfield), but included one of the leading American Indologists, W. Norman Brown.

A useful summary of Vedic texts and translations available in 1976 was made by J. A. Santucci (1976). More recently the Vedic canon has been discussed in a volume edited by Laurie Patton (1994); additional detail is found in Witzel (1997b). An

up-to-date introduction to the Veda, its texts, rituals, and religion is provided by Witzel and Stephanie Jamison (1997).

The period under review saw the publication in 1994 of a new edition of the *Ṛgveda*, prepared by Barend van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, which offers a restored text that renders the *Ṛgveda* by and large metrically regular. A serious lacuna that has long been felt is the lack of a modern English translation of the *Ṛgveda* to replace, or at least supplement, the magisterial German translation by K. F. Geldner (completed in 1928 but published only in 1951 in the Harvard Oriental Series). A new English translation of the entire work is currently under preparation by Jamison and Joel Brereton, which also aims to incorporate scholarly progress made in the century since Geldner's translation. At the same time, Witzel along with Toshifumi Goto is preparing a new German version (the first two books were published in 2007), with extensive introduction and commentary. English translations of selected Ṛgvedic hymns have appeared in the anthologies of Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (1981) and Walter Maurer (1986), the latter with valuable annotation.

The major advances in Vedic grammar in these five decades were made largely outside North America, but a number of books and articles may be mentioned. Stanley Insler, a student of Tedesco and Thieme, worked on the origin of the Sanskrit passive aorist (1968). The dissertations of his own students also dealt with various aspects of Vedic grammar, including Jamison (1983) and Jared Klein (1978). Klein went on to produce a discourse grammar of the *Ṛgveda* (1985), and to work on the verbal accentuation in the text (1992). Important studies on Vedic syntax were edited in a volume honoring the centenary of Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax* by Hans Hock (1991). The method of Vedic recitation has been the focus of much of Staal's work since the 1960s (see especially 1961 and 1986); *Sāmaveda* chant has been studied in detail by Wayne Howard (1977 and 1986).

The *Atharvaveda*, largely neglected since the early 1900s, received new stimulus by D.M. Bhattacharya's discovery in the late 1950s of new Paippalāda manuscripts in Orissa. Witzel

deduced that both the Kashmir and Orissa recensions of the Paippalāda branch of the *Atharvaveda* go back to a unique written archetype from Gujarat (c. 800-1000 CE) (1985a, 1985b). Since then, the critical study of the text has been taken up both in Europe and America, with several of Witzel's students editing and translating large parts of the text.

The *Black Yajurveda* and especially its Brāhmaṇas have received considerable attention. A complete translation of *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3 (and small section of 2) was published in a series of articles by P.-E. Dumont (1948-69). Witzel has edited and translated the previously inaccessible Āraṇyaka of the *Kaṭha* school (2004), and his student Susan Rosenfield has edited and translated large sections of the elusive *Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa* (2004). The *Yajurveda*, as the major ritual text of the four Vedas, has been the focus of a study by Brian Smith (1989).

Interest in the Upaniṣads has long been in evidence in the US, since the days of the New England Transcendentalists, yet a critical edition of even the major Upaniṣads is still not in sight. A translation of the principal Upaniṣads by Patrick Olivelle appeared in 1998. A study of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* was published by van Buitenen in 1962, while Brereton in several articles analyzed the structures of discourse in the Upaniṣads and their role in argumentation (see especially 1986).

Although the Vedic *sūtra*s are regarded by tradition as *smṛti* and thus post-Vedic, they are, both in language and content, Vedic texts. The oldest one, the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, has been studied by M. Fushimi (2007). Van Buitenen wrote a detailed study of the *pravargya* ritual (1968). The study of one of the oldest schools of the *Taittirīya Yajurveda*, the Vādhūla school, has been taken up again, after a lapse of half a century, by Witzel (1975). In this connection, the incisive studies on the position of women in the Veda (and Avesta) by Schmidt (1987) and Jamison (1996) deserve mention.

Finally, a few studies connected with late and post-Vedic rituals may be noted: while S. Einoo (1996) and Witzel (1980) have studied the origins of *pūjā* ritual, Gudrun Bühnemann (1988a) has documented the institution of *pūjā* itself.

Bühnemann has also worked more broadly on the development of the Hindu pantheon (1988b, 1990) and tantric aspects of *smārta* Brahman worship (2003). In 1987, Frederick Smith wrote on the change from Vedic to Hindu ritual (1987).

The myth and religion of the *Ṛgveda* were the subject of a number of important articles by W. Norman Brown written from a broadly humanistic perspective. Especially important, from the 1950s on, are "Ṛg Veda 10.34 as an Act of Truth" (1963), "Theories of creation in the Ṛg Veda" (1965), "Agni, Sun, Sacrifice, and Vāc" (1968), "The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (**Satyakriyā*)" (1968) (for all of which see Brown 1978). Thieme's *Mitra and Aryaman* (published in 1957 while he was teaching at Yale) concerns two gods numbered among the important group of deities known as the *āditya*s, who were the subject of a study by Brereton (1981). The designation *asura*, one of the more intractable conundrums of Vedic religion, given the Iranian data, was reconsidered by W. E. Hale (1986). Schmidt's *Bṛhaspati und Indra* (1968) led to a new interpretation of Ṛgvedic myth and ritual. Ṛgvedic and post-Ṛgvedic myth was studied by Jamison (1991).

The nature of Vedic ritual in particular has been discussed by Staal in several publications (1979, 1982, 1989). A detailed treatment of a major ritual is his volume, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (1983). Staal's theses have been challenged by various scholars including Scharfe (1990) and Witzel (1992). Other aspects of Vedic ritual have been studied by Christopher Minkowski (1989, 1991).

The historical and political background of Vedic literature and their indirect reflection in the Vedic corpus are the theme of much of Witzel's work, contained in numerous articles in scattered publications (see for example 1997a). His student Theodore Proferes produced a monograph on the idea of sovereignty and power (2007). Witzel was also the convener of the first Vedic Workshop at Harvard in 1989 (Witzel 1997b); subsequent workshops have been held in Kyoto, Leiden, and Austin.

With respect to Vedic poetics, the study of Vedic

phraseology has been signally advanced by comparative work outside of India proper, in Indo-European (see especially Watkins 1995) and Old Iranian (Insler 1975). A series of studies by Klein on stylistic repetition in the *Ṛgveda* have been appearing steadily since 1998 (see for example 2006 and 2007). A wide-ranging reappraisal is available in Jamison's recent book (2007).

2. Epic and Purāṇic Studies

The most significant American contributions to the study of the Sanskrit epics in this period are the two projects undertaken to translate in their entirety both epics, whose critical editions had recently been completed (Sukthankar et al. 1933-66; Bhatt et al. 1960-75). The first of these, J. A. B. van Buitenen's single-handed effort for the *Mahābhārata,* was begun at the U. of Chicago in the mid-1960s. Van Buitenen published three volumes between 1973 and 1978, comprising the first five major books of the *Mahābhārata,* approximately 40% of the critical edition (van Buitenen 1973-78). Before his untimely death in 1979 he had also completed a translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* (published posthumously in 1981). James Fitzgerald, a student of van Buitenen, currently coordinates the team of scholars completing the project. Volume seven of the projected ten-volume series appeared in 2004 (Fitzgerald 2004).

In 1969, a few years after van Buitenen began translating the *Mahābhārata,* Robert Goldman organized a collaborative initiative to translate the Baroda critical text of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* A group was formed under Goldman's leadership and common approaches were agreed upon in meetings of the group. Six of the seven volumes of this translation have appeared (Vālmīki 1984-2009), and Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman are currently at work on the final book. All the volumes of this translation are complemented by copious annotations that are in regular dialogue with the many traditional commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa.* It is a mark of the translation's success that it has been taken up in no fewer than three reprints in various formats: by Motilal Banarsidass of Delhi (complete reprint of the Princeton edition, 2006); the Clay Sanskrit Library (dual

language edition, 2005-2009); Éditions Diane de Selliers of Paris (lavishly illustrated with Indian miniatures, c. 1650-1800, forthcoming).

In addition to these extensive translation projects, American scholarship on the epics since 1950 has seen a number of contributions interpreting or commenting upon one or other of the epics. Mary Carroll Smith hypothesized that some two thousand stanzas of *triṣṭubh* verse constituted the kernel of an ancient pre-Brahmanic, warrior song celebrating a war-centered Kshatriya ethos (1972/1992). Her provocative thesis has been challenged in later scholarship (see e.g., Fitzgerald 2007a). In 1972 van Buitenen postulated a relationship between the dice-game motif of the Sabhāparvan and the *rājasūya*, or rite of royal consecration (van Buitenen 1972). Goldman's monograph (1977) built upon and extended Sukthankar's famous study of the Bhṛgu Brahmans of that epic. He followed this with a watershed study of Oedipal themes in both epics (1978), the first of several psychoanalytical studies of important epic characters and incidents, themes explored also by Jeffrey Masson (e.g., 1974, 1975). Fitzgerald's ongoing study of Bhīṣma in the *Mahābhārata* (2007b) advocates a broader, cross-cultural depth-psychology of family relations. Goldman has contributed significantly to the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in multiple articles and in his introductions to his three *Rāmāyaṇa* volumes (one, five, and six).

Significant contributions to both epics, but especially to the understanding of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* have been made by Sheldon Pollock, who translated the second and third books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as part of the Goldman effort and preceded both translations with substantial interpretive essays. Additionally Pollock (1984) discussed the vexed question of the divinity of Rāma and argued that it is integral to Vālmīki's text, understated though it is in accordance with the logic of the narrative (for an alternative interpretation, see González-Reimann 2006). Pollock (1993) analyzed the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Rāma story in political discourse, particularly in light of developments in the reception of that story with the development of a temple cult of Rāma beginning in the twelfth

century. Further analysis of the "effect-history" of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is found in two books conceived and edited by Paula Richman (1991, 2001), which emphasize the divergent permutations of the Rāma story and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in vernacular literary traditions.

In his *The Ritual of Battle* (1976a) Alf Hiltebeitel drew upon recently published European scholarship on the *Mahābhārata* by the Indo-Europeanists Stig Wikander and Georges Dumézil and by the skillful interpreter of the inner themes of the Brahmanic tradition, Madeleine Biardeau. Across the past four decades he has produced numerous essays interpreting the *Mahābhārata* (for a selection see the bibliography), and has also written a study of the later oral vernacular epics of India in relation to the Sanskrit epics (1999), a theme examined for written vernacular epics by Pollock in the context of a larger argument about Sanskrit and the regional languages in the formation of imperial and "vernacular" polities (2006). Hiltebeitel's *Rethinking the Mahābhārata* (2001) argued for the epic as the essentially simultaneous product of a single Brahmanical group.

In addition to his translation and interpretative studies of the *Mahābhārata* Books 11 and the first half of 12 (2004), Fitzgerald has produced several essays on the *Mahābhārata* as a whole, advocating an approach to the text at once structuralist and historicist, while other scholars have presented more particularized interpretations, or examine particular religious and philosophical arguments or themes in the epic (see the bibliography).

Other notable American work on the Indian epics includes a study of Arjuna as a paradigmatic hero (Katz 1989); an argument on Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as an incarnation of the god Brahmā (Sullivan 1990); a study of the development of the *yuga* theory in the *Mahābhārata* (González-Reimann 2002). Several important edited volumes of epic studies have also appeared during this period, including *Essays on the Mahābhārata* (Sharma 1991); *Epic Undertakings* (Goldman and

Tokunaga, 2009); *Epic and Argument in Sanskrit Literary History* (Pollock 2010); and *The Rāmāyaṇa Revisited* (Bose 2004).

Purāṇic studies in the US has been dominated by the many books and articles of Wendy Doniger (O'Flaherty). Her early work was inspired by the then-dominant school of structural mythography represented by Claude Lévi-Strauss (see her *Siva, the Erotic Ascetic,* 1973). She has since produced a wide array of important studies, on the problem of evil, for example (1976), and gender (1980), and more recently has branched out to comparative myth studies (1998, 1999).

A detailed survey of the *purāṇa*s was prepared by Ludo Rocher for the *History of Indian Literature* series (1986).

3. Śāstra in General

A reconsideration of the cultural logic of *śāstra* as such was offered by Sheldon Pollock in a series of articles (1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1990); two important conferences also occurred, with various American participants, that addressed specifically the theme of *śāstra* and *prayoga* in the arts (Dallapiccola and Zingel-Avé Lallemant 1989; Katz 1992). A sense of the need to provide a historiography for *śāstra* in the "early modern period," a seriously understudied epoch in Indian intellectual history (see Pollock 2001), led to the creation of the international collaborative project housed at Columbia U., "Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism" (http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pollock/sks/). The initiative has produced three edited collections, two substantive and one conceptual (Pollock ed. 2002, 2005, 2008), a short monograph dealing with early modern developments in *sāhityaśāstra, mīmāṃsā*, and *rājadharma* (Pollock, 2005), and a large and varied array of papers posted on the project's website. An additional volume (Pollock 2011) explores early modern Indian knowledge more broadly (south Indian, Persianate, and so on), but includes a study of the place of Sanskrit as a language of science. Many of the participants in the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems project are contributing to a new series, *Historical Sourcebooks in Classical Indian Thought* (to be

published by Columbia U. Press), which aims to provide detailed expositions of a dozen or more *śāstra*s through historical reconstructions of their principal arguments, as a necessary preliminary to further work on the early modern period.

4. Vyākaraṇa

American studies in traditional Sanskrit grammar came into prominence only from about 1960 on. Prior to that, while American linguistics, at least in the person of Leonard Bloomfield, was influenced by Pāṇinian grammar, the earlier American tradition of Sanskrit philology was singularly hostile to it (as the work of the founder of American Sanskrit studies, William Dwight Whitney, richly demonstrates). As in many other areas of Sanskrit study, it was only in this period that Indian traditions of grammatical thinking began to be taken seriously as worthy objects of study in their own right. This generation includes scholars such as George Cardona, Rosane Rocher, Barend van Nooten, Hartmut Scharfe, J. Frits Staal, Paul Kiparsky, Hans Hock, Madhav Deshpande, and Rama Nath Sharma and Peter Sharf. Sumitra Katre also spent the last few years of his life in the US teaching at the U. of Texas, Austin. A full picture of the contributions of these scholars can be seen in the detailed bibliographical works produced by Cardona (1975), Rocher (1975) and Deshpande and Hock (1991).

Pāṇinian scholars from the US have made significant contributions in the last few decades. George Cardona is perhaps the most prominent American scholar of Pāṇini. Beginning with his early work on the *Śivasūtras* (1969), Cardona has produced numerous articles analyzing various aspects of Pāṇini's grammar (e.g. 1970, 1974), culminating in *Pāṇini: His Work and its Traditions*, a projected multi-volume work, of which the first part (2nd revised ed.) appeared in 1997. Rama Nath Sharma has produced a complete translation of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in five volumes (1987-2003), following the tradition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and containing detailed explanations and derivational histories of examples, while Katre's 1987 work offers a more compact full version. The early work of Staal

(1967) and Staal and Kiparsky (1969) dealing with Pāṇinian syntax and semantics was inspired by the emerging transformational grammar of Noam Chomsky. Kiparsky's most significant contribution lies in his unearthing the meanings of the option terms (*vā, vibhāṣā, anyatarasyām*) in Pāṇini's grammar. By comparing Pāṇini's rules against the statistical data of the known Sanskrit usage, Kiparsky opened a new avenue of Pāṇinian studies (see 1979). Rosane Rocher has contributed several studies relating to the meaning of verbs in Pāṇinian grammar (1962, 1968, 1969). Besides many individual articles on Pāṇini, Staal edited an influential anthology, *Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (1972), which places modern studies of Sanskrit grammar in a historical perspective. Scharfe has authored several significant works on the history of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, and on specific aspects like logic in the *Mahābhāṣya* (1961) and Pāṇini's metalanguage (1971). Recently, he has completed a comprehensive review of research on Pāṇini (2009). Deshpande has written numerous books and articles dealing with various aspects of Pāṇinian grammar, especially tracing the development of grammatical theory within the tradition of Pāṇinian grammar (see especially 1975, 1980, and 1987). He has also produced editions and detailed studies of works like the *Śaunakīya Caturādhyāyikā* (1997). James Benson, who has taught for most of his career at Oxford, published a monograph on *aṅga* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (1990), while Robert Hueckstedt (1995) wrote a history of the interpretations of *iko yaṇ aci.*

Stretching over the last few decades, there has been an ongoing vigorous debate among scholars on what might be the best ways to conceptualize the structure and function of Pāṇini's grammar, and while no two scholars completely agree with each other on everything, the debate itself has provided a great opportunity to bring into focus many intricate issues in the field of Pāṇinian studies that await full resolution. This debate concerns such questions as the ability of modern scholars to question the validity of the commentarial tradition and newer independent ways of looking at Pāṇini's grammar,

and is best represented in Cardona (1999), Kiparsky (1991, 2009), and Scharfe (2009).

Contributions to Sanskrit pedagogy in the US may be briefly noted here. The need for a new textbook to replace the materials that had embittered the youth of earlier generations of Sanskritists (notably Perry's *Primer*) led to the publication of several very useful works: *Devavāṇīpraveśikā: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Language* by Robert Goldman and Sally Sutherland Goldman (1980), which has gone through several editions; *The Sanskrit Language: An Introductory Grammar and Reader* by Walter Maurer (1995); and *Saṃskṛtasubodhinī: A Sanskrit Primer* by Madhav Deshpande (2001). Gary Tubb and Emery Boose brought out their *Scholastic Sanskrit: A Manual for Students* in 2007. Online initiatives, such as Peter Sharf's Sanskrit Library (http://sanskritlibrary.org/) may be pointing the way to the future of Sanskrit education.

5. Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra

Interest in the area of ancient Indian law in the US is almost entirely a phenomenon of the period under study, largely owing to Ludo Rocher, prior to whose arrival at the U. of Pennsylvania in 1966 the subfield hardly existed. His principal publications are critical editions and translations of *dharmaśāstra* texts (1956, 1976, 2002); several of Rocher's students have prepared similar works, including Richard Lariviere (1981, 2003), and Richard Salomon (1985).

Patrick Olivelle, another student of Rocher, has made a major contribution to the field. He has had an abiding interest in *dharmaśāstra* texts on asceticism (*yatidharma*) (see Olivelle 1976-77, 1986; 1995, and, for a study, 1993), but has also produced editions of other *dharmaśāstra* works as well, including a critical edition of *Manusmṛti* based on some 50 manuscripts, with a new translation (2000; 2005; 2009a). His edited volume (2009b) assembles a large number of essays considering the idea of *dharma* from a variety of angles, and he has recently produced a "literary history" of *dharmaśāstra* (2011).

Olivelle's student Donald Davis has written on law in medieval Kerala (2004), and recently published an innovative synthetic account of the theory of Indian law especially in relationship to Indian religion, dealing with such questions as sources of legal knowledge, interpretation theory, and the structure of personal, civil, and criminal law (2010). He has collaborated with Timothy Lubin on the *Cambridge Handbook of Law and,* which contains contributions from a wide range of scholars (2011). Ethan Kroll produced an innovative study of the early modern theory of property, drawing on texts in both *dharmaśāstra* and *navyanyāya* (2010).

There have been several significant contributions to the study of the *Arthaśāstra*. Thomas Trautmann considered the problem of the date and authorship of the text (1971), and this compositional history has been further analyzed in a recent dissertation (McClish 2009). Hartmut Scharfe has published two monographs, one exploring problems in the history of the *Arthaśāstra* and the other, more broadly, on the nature of the early Indian state (1989, 1993).

6. Darśanas

The most important bibliographical and descriptive project in the area of Indian philosophy of the pre-1800 era is the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies,* now in eleven volumes. Begun in the late 1960s, the *Encyclopedia* is projected to comprise 26 substantive volumes providing summaries of Indic philosophical works ("Indiane" because Pali and Prakrit materials are also referenced). The first volume is a comprehensive bibliography (periodically updated online, http://faculty.washington.edu/kpotter/). Published volumes are listed in the bibliography of this essay.

The post-World War II study of Indian philosophy in the US may be said to begin with Daniel H. H. Ingalls' *Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*, which introduced the historical and conceptual development of the New Logic and brought Western symbolic logic to bear upon it. Bimal K. Matilal, one of Ingalls' students, whose Harvard dissertation was published as *Navya*

Nyāya Doctrine of Negation (1968), assumed leadership internationally in the study of Indian philosophy during his generation. Though his career took him to Canada and Oxford, he continued to influence the field in the US in many ways. Another of Ingalls' students, Phyllis Granoff, initially focused on philosophy (1978), and assumed the editorship of *The Journal of Indian Philosophy* after the untimely death in 1991 of Matilal who had been the founding editor.

Karl Potter was also much influenced by his teacher Ingalls, publishing his dissertation on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in 1957. His *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies* (1965) was the leading textbook in the area for a generation. Strong work in logic and related areas has been continued in various publications of Stephen Phillips, including *Classical Indian Metaphysics* (1995).

The study of Indian philosophy in the US has been very much indebted to the contributions of scholars trained outside of the US, who advanced work on Indian philosophy at the American universities they joined. One Dutch scholar who played an important role in this regard is J. Frits Staal, who, while focusing on Vedic and grammatical studies, has been engaged with questions in logic and the philosophy of language throughout his career (see for example 1988). Another important contributor to this field is Arindam Chakrabarti, who produced an important collaboration with B. K. Matilal (1994), as well as *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (2008), a broad survey in collaboration with Roy Perrett. Wilhelm Halbfass, an outstanding German scholar of Indian philosophy who joined the U. of Pennsylvania in 1982, made a major contribution to Vaiśeṣika studies (1992) and published a revised and updated version of his study *India and Europe* (1988) that had originally been published in German.

A number of noteworthy Indian philosophers have also spent their careers in the US. An early example was the late P. T. Raju, who moved from the U. of Rajasthan to the College of Wooster (Ohio), and whose *Structural Depths of Indian Thought* (1985) represents the summation of a lifetime of reflection on many of the key themes in Indian philosophy. Jitendranath

Mohanty, a leading phenomenological philosopher who was professor at several US universities, published alongside his work on Continental philosophy much important Indological scholarship, including a study of Gaṅgeśa (1966) and a collection of more general essays (1992). John Taber, a student of Mohanty, studied *mīmāṃsā* philosophy of language and theory of knowledge (2005). An earlier contribution to *mīmāṃsā*, in particular on the text of Jaimini, was made by Francis Clooney (1990). A leading younger scholar in the field is Lawrence McCrea, whose work to date has been a series of important articles (e.g., 2000, 2009), including those produced for the "Sanskrit Knowledge Systems" project. Peter Sharf's doctoral dissertation (published 1996), examines the notion of *ākṛti* in *vyākaraṇa*, *nyāya* and *mīmāṃsā*.

Vedānta studies are represented in the first instance by J.A.B. van Buitenen, who published two books on Rāmānuja (1953, 1956). In collaboration with Eliot Deutsch he also wrote *A Sourcebook of Advaita Vedānta* (1971). Bina Gupta, a close associate of Mohanty, has specialized in the study of Advaita Vedānta (see especially 1998), while Allen Thrasher has written articles and a monograph (1993) on Maṇḍanamiśra. John Braisted Carman added to the study of Viśiṣṭādvaita through his work on the theology of Rāmānuja (1974). Ajay Rao's *Re-figuring the Rāmāyaṇa as Theology* (2012) discusses the remarkable tradition of Śrīvaiṣṇava commentary, while a recent doctoral dissertation by Sucharita Adluri (2009) focuses on Rāmānuja's own exegetical strategies. The Madhva system of Dvaita Vedānta has been studied by Deepak Sarma (2003) and Valerie Stoker (2004), and the later *bhedābheda* philosophy of Vijñānabhikṣu and its legacy by Andrew Nicholson (2010). A comparative theological approach to Hindu and Christian scholastic systems has been attempted by Francis Clooney in two monographs (1993, 1996).

Buddhist Studies

The subfield that has experienced the most explosive growth in the past sixty year is undoubtedly Buddhism, in all its varieties. And perhaps the most remarkable American contribution in

this era to the study of Indian Buddhist texts in Sanskritic languages was also the earliest: Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (1953), which remains an essential reference work in this field. Edgerton's work was hampered by the inadequate state of Buddhist manuscript studies at the time, and his unavoidable dependence on inferior editions prepared for the most part on the basis of late manuscripts from Nepal. In recent decades, important projects based on manuscripts from Afghanistan and Central Asia, discovered during earlier generations and also very recently, have permitted scholars to attain a new depth of analysis of the evolution of Indian Buddhist languages, Gāndhārī above all. The American contribution to this effort has been centered in the Gandhari Manuscripts Project directed by Richard Salomon (discussed in "Epigraphy and Paleography" below).

Besides Edgerton, a number of other scholars of Buddhism who were active in the US during the 1950s and 1960s contributed to the exploration of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit (though for the most part focusing their researches on Sanskrit works of *śāstra*, not BHS). These included Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript* (1961), and Richard Robinson, who laid much emphasis on the comparative study of Sanskrit and Chinese sources in his study of early Mādhyamaka thought (1967).

Padmanabh Jaini produced critical editions of several key Buddhist texts (1977, 1979, among others). Students of his who have continued to work on Indian Buddhist *śāstra* include Robert Kritzer, the author of among other works a book on rebirth according to *Yogācāra Abhidharma* (1999). The study of Sanskrit Abhidharma traditions have also been furthered by Collett Cox in her *Disputed Dharmas* (1995), and, in collaboration with Charles Willemen and B. Dessein, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (1998). Further contributions to Abhidharma and Yogācāra studies are due to Paul Griffiths (1998) and Griffiths in collaboration with Hakamaya and others (1989).

Among the issues in Sanskrit Abhidharma that has attracted considerable attention, the problem of personal

identity has been particularly prominent. Matthew Kapstein's *Reason's Traces* (2001) explores this and varied aspects of Indian Buddhist metaphysics, and includes new translations of a several texts, including Vasubandhu's *Pudgalaprakaraṇa*. Mark Siderits, a student of Matilal, has authored *Personal Identity and Buddhist Philosophy* (2003), among other contributions to Indian philosophical studies. An important Yogācāra treatise, the *Mahāyānasūtra-alaṃkāra* with its commentary by Vasubandhu, has now been translated in full under the general editorship of Robert Thurman (2004).

Work on Buddhist philosophy in the US has tended to be concentrated on the Mādhyamaka philosophy of Nāgārjuna and his interpreters, Candrakīrti above all. (Robinson's work, stressing the reception of Nāgārjuna in China, has been noted above.) A pioneering effort in this respect emerged was Frederick Streng's work on emptiness (1967). One of the most influential scholars in the study of Mādhyamaka, and many other aspects of Indian and Buddhist philosophy, is the American scholar David Seyfort Ruegg, who, however, has spent most of his career in Europe. A representative collection of his essays was published as *The Buddhist Philosophy of the Middle* (2010). Karen Lang, one of Ruegg's students, has focused on the early Mādhyamaka thinker Āryadeva and his interpretation by Candrakīrti (see especially 2003).

The important line of interpretation of Mādhyamaka represented by Bhāviveka and Jñānagarbha has been the focus of the scholarship of Malcolm David Eckel, whose publications include *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents* (2008). The cultural background of Nāgārjuna and his work have been explored recently by Joseph Walser (2005), while a philosophical interpretation of the confrontation between Mādhyamaka and the Buddhist and Mīmāṃsaka epistemological traditions may be found in Daniel Arnold, *Buddhists, Brahmins, and Belief* (2005).

American scholarship on the Indian Buddhist epistemological traditions of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and their successors has expanded in recent years. A. Charlene Senape McDermott, a scholar of European medieval logic by training,

pioneered in this area with her 1970 book, *An Eleventh-Century Buddhist Logic of "Exists"*; Richard Hayes has produced *Dignāga on the Interpretation of Signs* (1988). The late Masatoshi Nagatomi of Harvard encouraged work in this area; two Harvard graduates who have contributed here are John Dunne (2004) and Sara McClintock (2010). Parimal Patil's dissertation on Ratnakīrti was published as *Against a Hindu God* (2009); he and Lawrence McCrea have recently written on the *apoha* theory (2010).

A significant trend in recent US Buddhist Studies has been the investigation of early Indian Buddhist institutions and practices, especially in the writings of Gregory Schopen, whose three volumes of collected articles are fundamental here (1997, 2004, and 2005). One of Schopen's students, Robert DeCaroli, has written on the early Buddhist cults of *yakṣa*s and *preta*s (2004). In tandem with this historical scholarship has emerged a closer reading of sources bearing on the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism than was possible in earlier scholarship. Work here has turned on Sanskrit sources where available, but often Chinese and Tibetan translations, too. Noteworthy studies of early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s include Jan Nattier's on the *Ugraparipṛcchā* (2005), and Daniel Boucher on the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* (2008). A detailed comparison of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* was produced by Luis O. Goméz (1996). Indian Buddhist narrative writings have been studied by John Strong (1989, 1992), Andy Rotman (2009), and Jonathan Silk (2009).

Indian Buddhist tantric studies began to expand during the 1970s, thanks in part to the impetus provided by Alex Wayman at Columbia U. and his students. Among the latter, Christopher S. George published a study of selected chapters from the *Caṇḍamahāroṣana Tantra* (1974). Wayman's own contributions to Indian Buddhist tantric studies include *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (1977) among other publications. Ronald Davidson's major historical synthesis, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, appeared in 2002; additional studies include Vesna Wallace (2001), Christian Wedemeyer (2007), and David Gray (2007).

Jain Studies

The study of Jainism has remained a rather restricted field in the US. This is in part due to the untimely death of one of its leading exponents, Kendall Folkert, in 1985. Folkert published a number of major essays on Jain scripture, monasticism, and philosophy that have since been collected in a volume edited by John Cort (1993). Although his principal area of scholarship has been Buddhist studies, Padmanabh Jaini has made substantial contributions in the area of Jain philosophy, with his major monograph, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (1979), and a study of gender and salvation (1991). His collected articles (2000) address an array of topics in Jain doctrine, karma theory, ethics, and the literary genre of *purāṇa.*

A new area of Jain scholarship has been opened up by the work of Phyllis Granoff with her studies of Jain biographical literature. In four books and numerous articles over the past 30 years she has explored the possibilities this material presents for enhancing our understanding of Indian conceptions of the self, history, community, and the religious life (see for example 1989-90, 1994, 2001; and with K. Shinohara, 1988, 1992, and 1994). John Cort, another contributor to Jain studies, exemplifies the anthropological-textual approach to research on Indian religions. While exploring Jainism "in the world," he has also been concerned with textual materials in both his own writings (e.g., 2009) and in his editorial work (see especially Cort 1988).

7. Sāhityaśāstra and Literature

Prior to the 1960s, the study of Sanskrit literature in the US was essentially the study of what the Sanskrit tradition never considered *kāvya* — the Vedic *saṃhitā*s — or what it considered *kāvya* only at a rather late epoch (the *Mahābhārata*; the *Rāmayaṇa* is of course a case apart). *Kāvya* was occasionally translated, to be sure, but was never the object of sustained intellectual engagement. This changed dramatically with the work of Daniel H. H. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara's "Subhāṣitaratnakośa,"* the companion volume to the

text edited, at Ingalls' invitation in 1951, by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale (published 1957). The original volume of the translation came out in 1965, and was reissued in 1999, a rare occurrence for a work of Sanskrit scholarship; an abridged version, *Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara's Treasury*, with a slightly modified introduction, was published in 1968, entering its fourth printing in 2000.

Ingalls not only provided the best translations of *muktaka kāvya* that had ever been produced in English but was one of the first scholars to treat the poetry with high seriousness and, as far as possible, according to the standards it had set itself. This meant providing, in the introduction, head-notes, and annotations, a detailed account of the rhetoric and conventions of Sanskrit poetry (complemented by a series of important studies, including Ingalls 1954a, 1954b, and 1968a). The breadth and depth of this scholarship were unprecedented in its day and set the agenda for the coming generation of Sanskrit literary scholars, many of them his own students and students of his students.

The study of *alaṅkāraśāstra* in particular was pursued by Ingalls' student Jeffrey M. Masson, in several studies published in collaboration with the well-known Pune scholar M. V. Patwardhan (e.g., 1969). Masson's doctoral dissertation had been a translation and study of parts of the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana and the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta; a complete version was later prepared with Patwardhan in 1975. Ingalls began collaborating on this project soon thereafter, and fifteen years later the heavily annotated complete version (with translations of the poetry versified by Ingalls) was published (Ingalls, Masson, Patwardhan 1990). This is the first complete translation of an *alaṅkāra* work ever produced by American scholars, and is undoubtedly the finest ever made into English.

Several of Ingalls' other students continued to develop the study of Sanskrit literature or literary theory, including Sheldon Pollock on metrics (1977) and *rasa* (1998, 2010, forthcoming), Robert Hueckstedt on stylistics (1985), Indira Peterson on the nature of the court epic (2003), Gary Tubb on

poetics and literature more generally (forthcoming). Pollock sought to rethink the relationship of Sanskrit literature to other vernacular literary traditions and within the context of later "cosmopolitan" languages, in a large collaborative project called "Literary Cultures in History" (2003); his essay for this project, "Sanskrit Literature from the Inside Out," offers a narrative of Sanskrit literary history that among other things gives primacy to Sanskrit conceptual categories. The theoretical and methodological framework behind the "Literary Cultures" project was both prefigured and refined in the research that led to Pollock's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India* (2006). Here Sanskrit's emergence as a literary language and its complex later history is explored for what this can tell us not only about Indian history but also about the limits of Western cultural and social theory. Several of Pollock's students have pursued these questions. The relationship of Sanskrit and Tamil, the oldest of the *deśabhāṣā*s, has been innovatively explored in the Chicago dissertation of Whitney Cox (2006), and that of Sanskrit and Persian, the other great cosmopolitan language of premodern India, in the Columbia dissertation of Audrey Truschke (2012).

Several of Pollock's other students have continued to build on the legacy passed on from Ingalls. *The Teleology of Poetics in Medieval Kashmir* (2009) by Lawrence McCrea reconstructs the intellectual history of Ānandavardhana's achievement especially in relation to *mīmāṃsā*. Yigal Bronner's *Extreme Poetry* (2010) is the first book to take seriously the phenomenon of *śleṣa* — recognized here as a paradigmatic, even ultimate form, of literariness — both in order to make sense of its particular capacities and to chart its history and proliferation in Indian literatures and culture more generally. Bronner has also published several important articles on *alaṅkāraśāstra* (e.g., 2004 and 2009).

Edwin Gerow produced a *Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech* (1971), which defines *alaṅkāra*s while providing diverting parallels from English literature, as well as a brief survey of *alaṅkāraśāstra* for Gonda's *History of Indian Literature* series

(1977). In collaboration with H. V. Nagaraja Rao of Mysore, he recently published an edition and translation of Appayya Dīkṣita's *Vṛttivārttika* (2001). An annotated bibliography of *alaṅkāraśāstra* was published by Timothy Cahill in 2003.

Although begun in England in the early 2000s, with patronage from the English businessman John Clay and initially under the general editorship of Richard Gombrich, the "Clay Sanskrit Library," a dual-language series of translations of Sanskrit epic and *kāvya* works published by New York U. Press, has had a substantial American representation. Sheldon Pollock was co-editor from 2006, and editor in 2008-09. Contributors to the Library from the US include Yigal Bronner and David Shulman, *Ātmārpaṇastuti, Śāntivilāsa, Dayāśataka,* and *Haṃsasaṃdeśa* (2009); Wendy Doniger, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* (2007); Matthew Kapstein, *Prabodha-candrodaya* (2009); Patrick Olivelle, *Pañcatantra* (2006), and *Buddhacarita* (2008); Sheldon Pollock, *Uttararāmacarita* (2007), and *Rasamañjarī* and *Rasataraṅgiṇī* (2009); Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman, *Vikramorvaśīya* (2009); Lee Siegel, *Gītagovindakāvya* (2009); Somadeva Vasudeva, *Kaliviḍambana Kalāvilāsa and Bhallaṭaśataka* (2005), and *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (Kashmiri recension) (2006); in addition, the first five volumes of the Princeton *Rāmāyaṇa* were reprinted. A new initiative from Harvard U. Press, the "Murty Classical Library of India," also edited by Pollock, will publish facing-page translations and editions of works in Sanskrit as well as other Indian languages, beginning in 2013.

Significant scholarship on particular authors and aspects of Sanskrit literature includes W. Norman Brown's studies of *stotra* literature (1958 and 1965), Barbara Miller's edited volume *Theater of Memory* (this includes translations and analyses of Kālidāsa's three plays), and her editions and translations of the *Gītagovinda* (1977) and of Bilhaṇa's *Caurapañcāśikā* (1978), and Lee Siegel's various works, in particular his study of humor in Sanskrit literature, *Laughing Matters* (1987). The wide range of David Shulman's contributions to Sanskrit literary studies, above all his sensitive readings of major texts, are well represented in his collection of essays (2001).

8. Jyotiḥśāstra, Mathematics, and Medicine

The study of *jyotiḥśāstra* in the US is associated with one name: David Pingree. His oeuvre is vast, including 32 books and monographs published as of 2003, and 127 articles, and much work in various stages of completion left unfinished at his death in 2007. His monumental contribution to Indian studies is the *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (1970-94), which compiles in one place all that is known about the primary sources for the study of astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and divination in Sanskrit and allied Indian languages: texts, authors, manuscripts and their scribes, owners, and collectors. There are, furthermore, detailed descriptive catalogues produced for manuscript collections of texts in the Sanskrit exact sciences (including, the catalogue of *jyotiṣa* manuscripts in the Chandra Shum Shere Collection, Oxford, the Wellcome Institute, and Columbia U.), and an as yet incomplete project to extend such cataloguing to all of the manuscripts held in collections, both public and private, in the US. In addition, Pingree produced editions of Indian astrological texts: the *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* (1976) and the *Yavanajātaka* (1978a), to mention only these, and some works of Varāhamihira and Bhojarāja (omitted here are his editions of Arabic, Hellenistic, and medieval European astrology, and Babylonian divinatory materials). Pingree also wrote a *History of mathematical astronomy in India* (1978b), and a synthetic history of *jyotiṣa* literature for the "History of Indian Literature" series (1981). A fairly complete bibliography is available in Burnett et al. (2004) (this does not include the last and posthumous works, but these are mostly not Sanskritic).

The majority of this work is devoted to establishing the primary sources, whether in cataloguing extant works or, more significantly, in executing the primary philological task of establishing critical editions of astrological texts in a range of languages. For, in accordance with the larger trend mentioned at the start of this essay, Pingree was concerned in the first instance with the philology of texts and the attendant understanding of context, in order to reconstruct the practice of science in its own terms, rather than mining texts for their

equations, and then comparing that with reality as we understand it now through our own science. (On Pingree's contribution and method generally see Minkowski 2008). He did depart from this general philosophy in *Astral Omens to Astrology, from Babylon to Bikaner* (1997), "a simple narrative," he called it, "based on all of the known original sources, of a number of cases of transmission."

One of Pingree's students, Kim Plofker, has published a very significant synthetic account of mathematics in her *Mathematics in India* (2009).

The history of Indian medicine has been less well developed in the US than in Europe. One exception is Kenneth Zysk, who has published widely in the area of *āyurveda* as well as medicine and religion, including a book on asceticism and healing (1990) and an edition and study of two texts on *kāmaśāstra* (2002). This is also the place to mention Frederick Smith's wide-ranging monograph on possession (2006).

9. Epigraphy and Paleography

Epigraphy and paleography were generally a neglected area in US Sanskrit studies until the late 1970s. It was then that Gregory Schopen published several articles with ground-breaking analyses and interpretive studies of early Indian Buddhist inscriptions. These are assembled in the three volumes (mainly in the first and third volume) of his collected papers mentioned above (particularly influential articles include 1979, 1987a, 1987b, 1991). Schopen has systematically employed epigraphic and archaeological evidence as a check and control on the textual sources used for reconstructing the early history of Indian Buddhism and the rise of Mahāyāna, imposing a balance lacking in most earlier studies of Buddhist history.

Richard Salomon has published many editions and studies of Indian inscriptions, particularly Buddhist inscriptions and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the northwest (Gandhāra) region (some of his more important articles include 1990, 1991, 1996a, 1996b, 2003, 2005). His *Indian Epigraphy* (1998) has become the

standard modern handbook and general reference source for Indian epigraphic studies. Salomon has attempted to integrate epigraphy into the general Indological curriculum by training Sanskrit students in the study of inscriptions and bringing Indian epigraphy to the attention of scholars in related fields. Both Salomon and Schopen have striven to view Indian (especially Buddhist) inscriptions in their broader historical, archaeological, art-historical, and sociological context, a more capacious view of Indian epigraphy that contrasts with a sometimes excessively myopic focus on the inscription itself characteristic of many earlier studies.

Salomon's students Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums have sought to modernize the study of Indian epigraphy through the compilation of electronic resources such as the Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (http://gandhari.org/a_inscriptions.php) and the online dictionary of Gāndhārī (http://gandhari.org/a_dictionary.php). The corpus of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions now contains 729 items, in comparison to only 100 in Sten Konow's once-definitive volume (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 2.1, 1929). Glass and Baums are also making notable contributions to Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī epigraphic studies in their writings (see Glass 2007; Baums 2011).

In recent decades, important projects based on manuscripts from Afghanistan and Central Asia, discovered during earlier generations and also very recently, have permitted scholars to attain a new depth of analysis of the evolution of Indian Buddhist languages, Gāndhārī above all. The American contribution to this effort has been centered at the U. of Washington, in The British Library/U. of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project directed by Richard Salomon (see http://www.ebmp.org/). Pertinent publications include Salomon 1999; Salomon and Glass 2001, and several additional volumes published in the "Gandhāran Buddhist Text Series."

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